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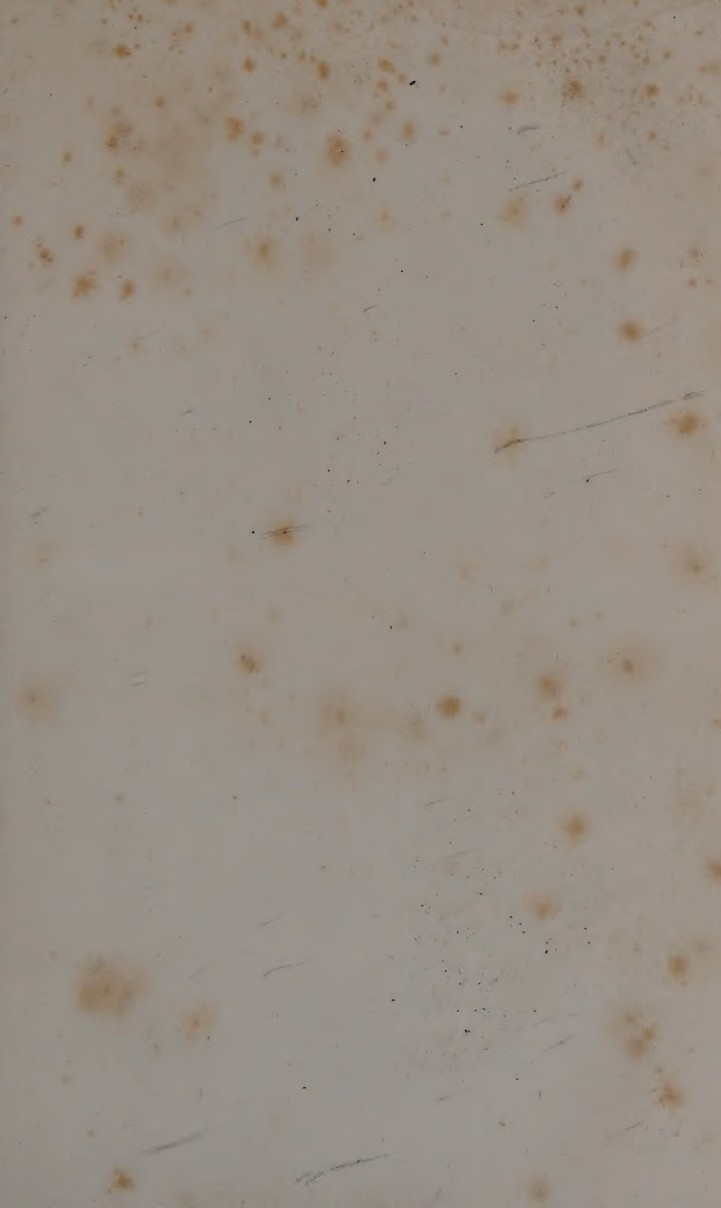
PETER BROWN

2709











# JOHN KNOX AND HIS TIMES.

BY

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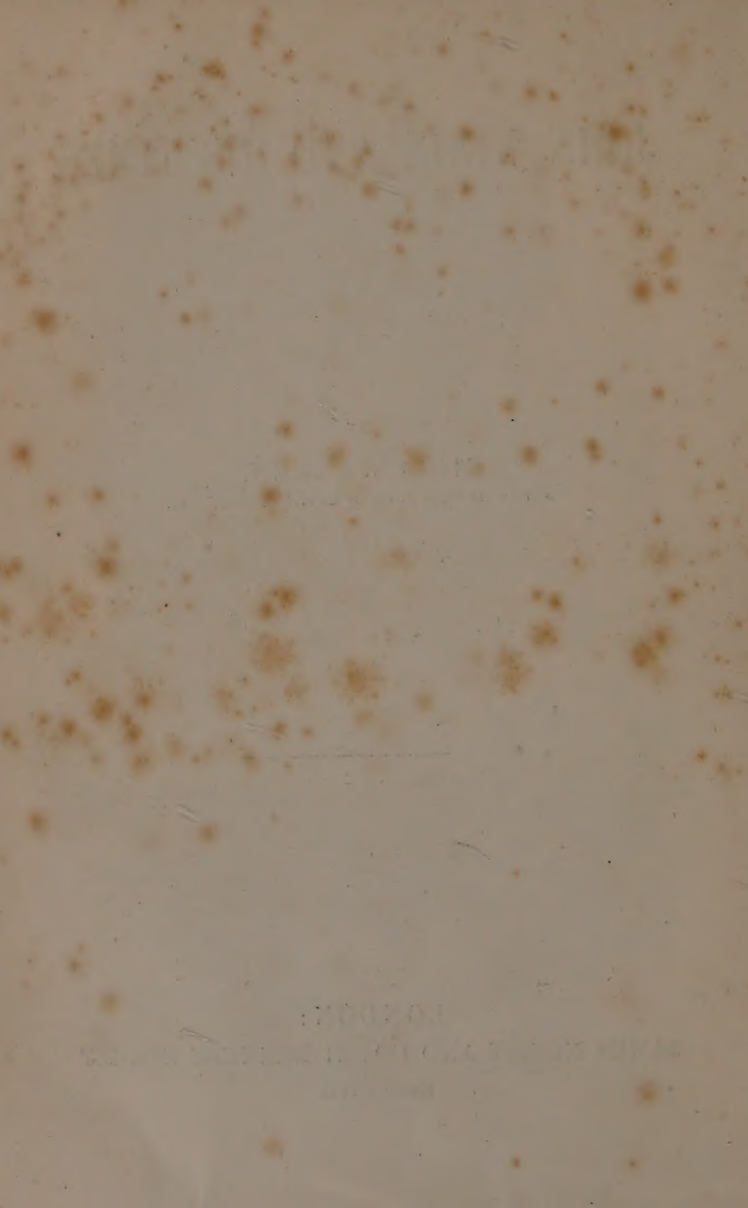
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The principal works from which materials for this book have been derived are—Dr M'Crie's "Life of Knox ;" "Annals of the English Bible;" Robertson's "History of Scotland;" Tytler's "History of Scotland;" and Froude's "History of England."





# KNOX AND HIS TIMES.

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## CHAPTER I.

John Knox's House—His Early Days—Entrance of Light.

AT the top of the Netherbow, nearly in the middle of the line of streets which extends between Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood, stands the house of John Knox, with its small peaked windows and outside stair. Over its west front is inscribed—"Lufe God above al, and yur nichbour as your self;" and in an angle of the building is a small statue representing Moses receiving the Tables of the Law.

This house is one of the Edinburgh sights. The audience-hall, now a museum, has a large window looking into the street—the "preaching window"—from which Knox addressed the crowds below. From this room a circular stair leads to his bedroom, which faces the north, and is lighted by a stained-glass window, close to the recess in which his bed stood. The room in which he transacted business is large, and



panneled with oak. It, also, has a window facing the High Street. A very old picture, representing winter in its dreariest aspect, snow-clad hills, and leafless trees, hangs against the wall. The study, scarcely larger than a closet, but having two windows and a fireplace, is close by; in it Knox wrote his history of the Church of Scotland, and prepared those sermons which stirred the hearts of his hearers, and brought light and life to many. In this house Knox lived for many years, and here, too, he died.

But he was not born in Edinburgh. His birth-place, called "Knox's Walls," is in Giffordgate, a small suburb of Haddington, in East-Lothian. His father was descended from a respectable and wealthy family; his mother's name was Sinclair.

In 1521, at the age of sixteen, Knox was sent from the grammar school of Haddington to Glasgow University, where he studied Aristotle and school divinity. Greek was not then taught in Scotland: the first public school into which it was introduced was that of Montrose, under the care of Erskine of Dun, in 1534; and it was not until 1560, after the establishment of the Reformation, that John Row, the Protestant minister of Perth, opened a school for Hebrew. So late as 1550, Knox lamented his ignorance of Hebrew, for which knowledge, he says, he had "a fervent thirst." He learned both Greek and Hebrew on the Continent.

John Mair or Major, "an oracle in the sciences which he taught," was professor of philosophy and theology while Knox and his friend Buchanan were

at the university. His lectures startled many, as he declared that a general council was superior to the Pope, and might judge, rebuke, or even depose him; that the Pope had no lawful claim to temporal supremacy; that ecclesiastical canons and their papal excommunication had no force, if founded upon inadequate grounds; that rulers were not of divine origin, but merely of human appointment; and that the reduction of monasteries and holydays was advisable.

Upon matters connected with civil power Mair's views were equally liberal. He affirmed that the authority of kings and princes was derived from the people; that if rulers became tyrannical, their subjects might resist, control, and even, if necessary, depose and condemn them to death. The political principles afterwards avowed by Knox, and defended by Buchanan, prove that these lectures made a deep and lasting impression upon their minds. But upon other subjects Mair's influence was slight, and Knox and Buchanan, disgusted at hearing trifling matters treated as those of deepest moment, looked elsewhere for food to satisfy their restless and inquisitive minds. In general literature, and especially poetry, Buchanan found all he needed, while Knox devoted himself to the study of divinity, with a view to entering the Church. Captivated by his subject, his progress was rapid, and he was soon made Master of Arts, and authorised to teach philosophy, in which many thought he excelled his master.

About this time he was ordained priest, before he had reached the age prescribed by the canons of the Church. In 1532, the writings of St Jerome and St Augustine led him to the Scriptures, whose simple language, so unlike much that he had been reading, powerfully affected him. From that moment scholastic divinity lost its charm for him, and he ventured to question the authority of those whose teaching he had implicitly followed. This glimmering of light, which gradually dispelled darkness, began in 1535, but Knox did not openly declare himself a Protestant until 1542.

## CHAPTER II.

Luther's Writings Prohibited by Act of Parliament—Tyndale's New Testament leads to Persecution—Patrick Hamilton—His Martyrdom—Followers in his Steps—James V. present at the Burning of his Subjects—The holy Lives of Christians in those Days.

THE Reformed doctrines had made considerable progress in Scotland before Knox adopted them. Some of Luther's writings arrived there in 1525, and so alarmed the clergy—to whom his name was a watchword of terror, both in England and Scotland—that Parliament passed an Act requiring that "no manner of persons *strangers* that happened to arrive with their ships, within any part of the realm, should bring with them any books of the said Luther, his disciples, or servants, on pain of imprisonment, besides the forfeiture of their ships and goods." This Act was passed previous to July 17, 1525, and before autumn a fresh alarm seized the clergy:—a rumour was afloat that the forbidden works were brought into the country by the "*king's lieges*." So, in August 1527 an additional clause was added to the edict of 1525,—“That all other, the king's lieges, assistaries to such opinions, be punished in seemable

wize, and the effect of the said Act to strike upon them." There can be little doubt that some of Luther's writings did then enter Scotland. But the only books whose arrival can now be distinctly traced to that period were copies of Tyndale's New Testament.

And as it was in England, so in Scotland, too, severe and long continued persecution did not begin until after the arrival of the Scriptures, but in February 1528, at the very moment when Toustal and his vicar-general were sitting in judgment upon the Word of God in London, it was being condemned in Scotland by the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, the leader of the noble army of martyrs on British ground during the sixteenth century.

Patrick Hamilton, the great-grandson of James II. of Scotland, was born in 1504, and was educated at St Andrews. At the age of sixteen he took his degree of M.A. at Paris, just at the time when the doctors of the Sorbonne were examining Luther's writings, which had been sent to them by his friend and protector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony. The Saxon reformer had many friends in the Sorbonne, but his enemies, being more numerous, triumphed. On the 15th of April 1521 the university decreed, in the presence of students from every country of Christendom, that Luther was a heretic, and that his works should be publicly burned. Hamilton spent the following six years on the continent, chiefly at Paris and Louvaine, and returned to Scotland to find his

mother a widow, his father having been killed in the struggle between the Hamiltons and Douglasses on the 30th of April 1520.

In the summer he became a member of St Andrews, the centre of ecclesiastical influence in Scotland, in whose castle the primate resided, and there pursued his theological studies with special reference to the controversy of which he had heard so much at Paris. He was not then inclined to Luther, he rather preferred Erasmus; but though from his boyhood he had been Abbot of Fearn, such was his hatred to monkish hypocrisy, that his old biographer tells us "he never assumed the monastic habit, or resided with the monks." In 1527 he took orders in the Church, a proof that he had not at that time any idea of separating from her communion. John Fryth, the English reformer, says "he took that step, that he might thus be admitted to preach the Word of God, even as St Paul circumcised Timothy, to win the weak Jews." Like Luther, Patrick Hamilton was driven to leave the Church of his fathers by the conviction that allegiance to the Word of God and to the Pope were incompatible. With increased interest he continued his studies, and especially the Scriptures, but he had not yet seen them in English.

However, copies of Tyndale's New Testament, carefully concealed in bales of merchandise, reached Scotland in 1527. Many found their way to St Andrews, and thus fell into Hamilton's hands. The rumour that he held heretical opinions soon reached

Beaton, the Archbishop, who, having caused "faithful inquisition" to be made, discovered that he was "inflamed by heresy, disputing, holding, and manifesting divers heresies of Luther." Life and liberty being in jeopardy, Hamilton fled to Germany, not stopping until he reached Wittenburg, and found himself side by side with Luther, in his newly found and happy home, with his wife, Catherine de Bure. The change which the entrance of the Scriptures had produced in Germany astonished and delighted him—the monasteries deserted, the churches, purified from Romish idols, echoing with the voice of prayer and praise in a language the people could understand: while the loud "Amen" told that the worship was that of the heart.

From Wittenburg he went to Marburg, and became the friend of Francis Lambert, John Fryth, and of William Tyndale, who was then bringing out the first pages of his translation of the Old Testament. His name stands among the first members of the University of Marburg, the first great school which, after the lapse of centuries, was established without the sanction of the Pope; its founder, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, looked higher for a blessing upon his noble undertaking. The only work Hamilton has left us is a set of theses called by Fox "Patrick's Places," which he drew up at Marburg, "and were," says Lambert, "conceived in the most evangelical spirit, and maintained with the greatest learning." He returned to Scotland late in the autumn of 1527,



with the resolve, at whatever cost, to lay bare the corruptions of Rome, and enforce "the reading of the Scriptures, and the necessity of repentance towards God, and faith in Christ, in order to good works." Panic-struck at his courage, the upholders of the "old learning" determined to crush heresy at once, lest it should take root in the land. Taking advantage of the king's absence on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Duthack's, the primate summoned Hamilton to St Andrews, promising him safety. Foreseeing his danger, his friends advised him to fly for his life; but he refused, saying he had come thither "to confirm the minds of the godly by his death as a martyr to the truth; and to turn his back now would be to lay a stumbling-block in their path, and cause some to fall."

Sir James Hamilton and John Andrew Duncan armed their retainers in his defence. Hearing this, Beaton determined to repel force by force, and thousands of horsemen obeyed his call. John Duncan's men were soon disarmed, while adverse winds in the Frith of Forth prevented Sir James Hamilton's reaching St Andrews in time. All these things were against Hamilton, but not on an arm of flesh was his trust placed, but upon that Rock against which the storm might rage, but not prevail.

At midnight he was arrested in bed and carried to the castle. The next day, in the presence of Beaton, thirteen articles were laid to his charge by the Dominican friar, Alexander Campbell, who had long desired

his death ; and it is to be observed that, during the examination, the head and front of his offending was proved to be, his having enforced *the reading of the New Testament in English*. This was on February 28, and on that same day, notwithstanding the Archbishop's promise, "he was tried and condemned, and reduced to ashes, before the sun went down."

The "spirit of power and of love" mightily sustained the martyr. In silent prayer he reached St Salvador's College, in front of which he was to suffer : then, turning to his servant, who had long shared his bedroom, he took off his gown, his coat, and his bonnet, saying, "These will not profit in the fire : they will profit thee : after this, thou canst receive no commodity from me, except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind. For although it be bitter in the flesh, yet is it the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that deny Christ before this wicked generation." He then gave away his Bible, which had been his best friend in days of sunshine and of storm. Being offered life if he would recant, he refused, and in the midst of great and protracted suffering "uttered divers comfortable speeches to the bystanders." His last words were :—  
"How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm ! How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men ! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." The dreadful scene began at noon, and it was six o'clock in the evening before all was over ;" but "during all that time," says a bystander, "the martyr never gave one sign of im-

patience or anger, nor ever called to Heaven for vengeance upon his persecutors ; so great was his faith, so strong his confidence in God ! ” His sun went down while it was yet day : he was only twenty-four years of age, but he did not die in vain. His cruel death and the heroic fortitude with which he suffered, startled the minds of men ; and while the doctors of Louvaine thanked Beaton for his services to the Church at large, and congratulated, almost with envy, the university over which he presided, Francis Lambert, at Marburg, touchingly wrote to the Landgrave, bewailing their common loss. “ He came,” he said, “ to your university, out of Scotland, that remote corner of the world ; and he returned to his country again, to become its first and now illustrious apostle. He was all on fire with zeal to confess the name of Christ, and he has offered himself to God as a holy, living sacrifice. He brought into the Church of God not only all the splendour of his station and gifts, but his life itself. Such is this flower of surpassing sweetness, yea, the ripe fruit, which your university has produced in its very commencement.”

In Scotland the sensation was deepest, and especially at St Andrews, the metropolitan city—the Rome of Scotland. Inquiry wherefore the martyr suffered led to the discussion of his doctrines, and in some cases to their being embraced. Alexander Seaton, the King’s confessor, was among the number. The clergy, alarmed, wondered how it would all end. “ If you burn any more of them,” said John Lindsay

to the Archbishop, "take my advice, and burn them in cellars, for I assure you that the smoke of Patrick Hamilton has infected all upon whom it blew."

Gawin Logie, principal of St Leonard's College, having adopted the "new learning," contrived to teach it to his pupils, and with such success, that it was generally said of those suspected of heresy, that they had "drunk of St Leonard's well." Then began in good earnest the search after heretics, and between 1530 and 1540 many from Scotland's nobility, besides Augustinian canons and Dominican friars, suffered martyrdom. Others, overcome by the terrible death which awaited them, recanted, while many fled to England and the continent for shelter.

The second martyr at St Andrews—Henry Forrest of Linlithgow—a Benedictine monk, was also a young man. His martyrdom was in 1533. The crimes laid to his charge were, that he possessed a copy of the New Testament in English, and that he had been heard to say that Patrick Hamilton was a true martyr. "He suffered death," says the chronicler, "at the north church stile of the Abbey Church of St Andrews, to the intent that *all the people of Forfar and Angus might see the fire*, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine, which they call heresy."

James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, died in 1539, and was succeeded by his nephew, David Beaton, a devoted ally of the Pope, whose cruel, vindictive character fitted him for the work he

undertook. In his hands persecution was not left to slumber.

On the 1st of March 1539, James V. was present while five of his best subjects were consumed to ashes upon the Castlehill. Their names were, John Keillor and John Beveridge, two Benedictine monks or black friars; Sir Duncan Simpson, a priest from Stirling; Mr Robert Forrester, a notary from the same place; and a dean of the kirk, Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar. The flames, visible in Mid-Lothian and Fife, proclaimed that it is not by persecution that the progress of the Gospel can be stayed. These five men had been tried and condemned by Cardinal Beaton, and Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane. Forrest was treated with peculiar barbarity, and again, in his case, the chief offence was declared to be his reading and giving to others Tyndale's New Testament. "Behold, sirs," said his accuser, holding the Bible in his hand, "he has the book of heresy in his sleeve, that makes all the din and play in our Kirk." "Brother," said Forrest, "God forgive you. I assure you, dear brother, that there is nothing in this Book but the life, the latter will and testament of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, penned by the four evangelists for our wholesome instruction and comfort." "Know thee not, heretic," interrupted Lauder, "that it is contrary to our express commands to have a New Testament or Bible in English, which is enough to burn thee?" Having got a copy of it in his monastery, Forrest had been the means of con-

verting many young men among the students. "But the old bottles," he used to say, "would not receive the new wine." Being advised by the abbot to keep such thoughts to himself, he replied, "Thank you, my lord, you are a friend to my body, but not to my soul." When the Pope's agents came into his parish to sell indulgences, Forrest warned his flock against them, saying, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you. This is but to deceive you; there is no pardon for our sins that can come to us, either from Pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ."

Now, when "religion walks in silken slippers," it is well to see how those holy men of old lived "not unto themselves." Of Thomas Forrest we read that his habit was to study the Scriptures from six o'clock in the morning till noon. Each day he committed three chapters of the Bible to memory, and repeated them to his servant at night. From the time that he became vicar of Dollar he preached every Sunday, a practice in which he stood alone in all Scotland. This, and his opposition to the sale of indulgences, made him peculiarly obnoxious to the primate. But none of these things moved him, knowing in whom he believed, and being persuaded that He was able to keep that which he had committed unto Him.

There were giants in the earth in those days—

"With them each day was holy, every hour  
They stood prepared to die : a people doomed  
To death—old men and youths."

### CHAPTER III.

The Reformation advanced by the Circulation of the Scriptures and by Poetry—Knox declares himself a Protestant—Martyrdom of Wishart—Garrison Chaplains—"Secret Society" of the Faithful—Martyrdom of John Rough.

By the circulation of the Scriptures the Reformation made progress. At midnight, while others slept, they that feared the Lord assembled in secret; the Bible, drawn from its hiding-place, was read by one, while the rest listened; and thus the Gospel took root in Scotland, at a time when there was not one public teacher of the truth in the land.

Poetry, too, was pressed into the service; and though the satirical pieces levelled against the Church cannot always be approved, yet, by exposing the ignorance, superstition, and immorality of the clergy, they provoked discussion, and did good. Being easily learned by heart, these rhymes and ballads were repeated from one to another, which was no small advantage at a time when the printing-press was under the control of the bishops. Sir David Lindsay is said to have been the poet whose writings had most influence upon the Scottish Reformation. The bishops managed to have several laws passed against the cir-



culatation of these rhymes; but they outlived their enemies. Before the year 1546, the Psalms of David were translated in metre.

Besides numbers of the common people, many persons of rank had adopted the Reformed doctrines previous to 1540, among whom were the Earl of Glencairn, his son, Lord Kilmaurs, the Earl of Errol, Lord Ruthven, Sir David Lindsay, (the poet,) Sir James Sandilands, and others, who narrowly escaped the fate of Patrick Hamilton. More than once, the King was petitioned to sign a warrant for their execution, which he would probably have done but for his own death on the 14th of December 1542.

When, therefore, Knox turned towards the Reformed faith, he met with sympathy from high and low, rich and poor. He was then lecturing at St Andrews, and openly avowed the change in his religious opinions. Finding it impossible to retain his post, the town being under the control of Cardinal Beaton, he went to the south of Scotland, and there declared himself a Protestant. The cardinal immediately degraded him from the priesthood, passed sentence against him as a heretic, and hired men to waylay and assassinate him; but he escaped.

Upon the death of James V., the cardinal, by presenting to the nobility a forged will, (professing to be the King's,) endeavoured to secure the regency for himself during the minority of the infant Queen. He failed. On Monday the 8th of January the King was buried, and within forty-eight hours after, on

Wednesday the 10th, the Earl of Arran, the cardinal's cousin, who professed the Reformed doctrines, was declared Protector and Governor of the kingdom. The darling project of Henry VIII., to unite the crowns of England and Scotland by the marriage of his son Edward to the infant Mary, was now, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy, all but accomplished. The treaty was actually concluded at Greenwich on the 1st of July, and ratified by Arran on the 23d of August; while, at the same time, he proclaimed Beaton a traitor. But owing to the political intrigues of the Queen-mother and the cardinal, the fickleness of the regent, and the violent, overbearing temper of the King, the treaty was broken off. On the 3d of September, Arran, in the Franciscan convent in Stirling, renounced all connexion with England, publicly abjured the Reformed doctrines, and received absolution from the cardinal, whom he had imprisoned the previous January.

Shortly after this, Mary was betrothed to the Dauphin, and after a time took up her abode in France, to be brought up in the midst of the political iniquities of the court of Catherine de Medici.

During the short time in which Arran favoured the Reformed doctrines, Parliament passed an Act declaring it lawful to read the Scriptures, "both the Old and the New Testament," in the vulgar tongue, that blessed Book which had been for sixteen years read in secret. Looking back upon that memorable event twenty-five years after, Knox says of it: "This

was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the enemies of His verity : not small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, nor the articles of their faith in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table ; the New Testament was borne about in many men's hands."

Hitherto, as we have seen, the Reformation was advanced by books imported from the continent ; now Popery was attacked by the Scottish press. The Reformed preachers, too, who had been appointed chaplains by the regent, made converts to their doctrines ; among these was Thomas Guillaume, a Dominican monk, from whose sermons Knox says he learned much. But the man to whom he owed most was George Wishart, who had been banished by Cardinal Beaton in 1540, for the crime of teaching the Greek Testament at Montrose. In 1544 he returned to Scotland, and was now preaching the Gospel in various parts of the country. His character, a combination of constancy and meekness, was the admiration of all classes. One of his pupils describes him as " a tall man, bald-headed," wearing a " round French cap of the best"—his countenance " of melancholy complexion"—" long-bearded—well-spoken of—courteous, lowly, lonely, glad to teach, desirous to learn"—one who " feared God and hated covetousness," and whose charity had " no end, day or night."

To this man Knox attached himself, both from delight in his society, and to defend him from the malice of Beaton's party. His love was warmly returned; but the friends were soon parted. The night that Wishart was arrested, he, fully persuaded that martyrdom awaited him, desired Knox to leave him, saying, "Return to your bairns; one is sufficient for a sacrifice." These "bairns" were the sons of Lord Ormiston, Knox's pupils.

Wishart suffered martyrdom on the 1st of March 1546. The act was wholly Beaton's, shortly before he was himself murdered. It was hurried up, contrary to Arran's advice, who asked delay, that the case might be thoroughly examined, and warned the cardinal, that if Wishart was executed without a trial, his blood would be required at his hands. Deaf to all warning, Beaton hastened his death; and not long after, he was himself put to death, without trial or ceremony of any kind. Meanwhile, Knox continued to instruct his pupils in a small chapel, the ruins of which, called "John Knox's Kirk," existed until lately. Now scarcely one stone remains upon another.

Even in this retreat, he was exposed to Beaton's machinations, and would probably have shared the fate of "four honest men who were, at this time, hung at Perth for eating a goose on Friday," had not the cardinal's death intervened. On the morning of the 29th of May, a band of conspirators, led by Norman Leslie, the son and heir of the Earl of Rothes, (some under

the influence of the English court—the cardinal being an object of special hatred to Henry—and others actuated by private resentment,) seized upon the castle of St Andrews, in which the primate resided, and put him to death; and thus Arran's warnings proved a true prophecy.

Archbishop Hamilton, Beaton's successor, inherited his vices with his power. To such a man, Knox, who unsparingly condemned immorality of life as well as false doctrine, was specially obnoxious. With his life in his hand, he wandered from place to place, until, weary of concealment, he determined to fly to England for shelter. Remembering, however, that although the Pope's name was execrated in England, his laws were in full force, he changed his mind, and turned his thoughts to Germany, with a view of studying in one of the Protestant universities, until the storm should abate, and allow of his returning home. Such was his desire. But Lord Ormiston, unwilling that his sons should lose their tutor, induced him to accompany him into the castle of St Andrews, which was still retained by the cardinal's assassins, and considered the only safe place for those who opposed the system of iniquity which he had supported. This has led to the false assertion, that Knox bore a part in Beaton's murder.

At Easter 1549, Knox, along with a few others of the Reformed party, entered St Andrews; and while he instructed his pupils, he resumed the lectures upon Scripture which he had begun at Langniddry, taking

them up at the passage in St John's Gospel where he had left off. He also catechised publicly in the parish church. Among the refugees in the castle were three firm friends of the Reformation, who had not, any more than Knox, a share in the cardinal's murder. These were Sir David Lindsay, Henry Balmaces of Halhill, and John Rough, chaplain to the garrison.

Rough was a remarkable man. At the age of seventeen, annoyed at being deprived of some property to which he considered himself entitled, he entered the monastery of the Blackfriars at Stirling. Within those walls the Gospel arrested him, and soon his fame, as a preacher, reached the Earl of Arran, who, in 1543 nominated him his chaplain. When the Regent apostatised from the Reformed faith, Rough retired to Kyle, and afterwards to the castle of St Andrews; and there Knox found him—preacher to the garrison.

Knox's talents as a teacher soon attracted attention; and he was invited to become Rough's colleague, as minister to the refugee congregation. He refused, not considering himself authorised to accept so solemn a charge without a "call." Then, said his friends, as they talked the matter over, a "call" he shall receive. The day being fixed, Rough preached upon the election of ministers, and declared that a congregation, however small, had a right "to call" to the office of the ministry any one in whom they believed suitable gifts were discerned. "And

now, brother," said the preacher, turning to Knox, "you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that fervently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation; but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours; that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you hope to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that He shall multiply His graces unto you." Then, addressing the congregation, Rough asked, "Was not this your charge unto me? and do ye not approve this vocation?" "It was," they answered, "and we do approve it." At these words, Knox, the stern Reformer, rose from his seat; in vain he tried to speak; the thought "Who is sufficient for these things?" overcame him; and, covering his face with his hands, he burst into tears, rushed out of the church, and shut himself up in his room. "From that moment," says his biographer, "until the day that he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching, his countenance and behaviour did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth from him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together." At length, satisfied that the "call" was



from God, and well assured that He would fit him for the work, Knox entered upon his new duties, and never repented having done so.

His election did not come a day too soon. Rough, though a powerful preacher, was not able to discuss knotty points of controversy with the wily dean, John Annand, whose delight it was to set traps to catch him. Knox had already, more than once, silenced the dean by his pen; now he did so from the pulpit of the parish church. From Dan. vii. 24, 25, he undertook to prove that the Romish church was the “synagogue of Satan, and that the head thereof, called the Pope, was that man of sin of whom the apostle speaks.” Comparing scripture with scripture, the Old Testament with the New, Knox made good his promise, and invited any who thought he had misquoted or misinterpreted Scripture, the fathers, or ecclesiastical history, to come and discuss the subject with him in the presence of suitable witnesses.

John Mair, Knox’s old tutor, heard this sermon; also John Winram, the sub-prior of the university; besides a number of canons, and friars—black, white, and gray. Such plain speaking made a great noise. The Pope declared to be “Antichrist”—the Romish system “erroneous and unscriptural!” The people, in agitation, wondered to what it would all come. Some said, “Others hewed the branches of Papistry, but he striketh at the root, to destroy the whole.” Others, “If the doctors and magistrates do not defend the Pope and his authority, which in their own pre-

sence is so manifestly impugned, we care not for him and his laws." Others said, "Mr George Wishart spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt; even so will he be in the end." Others, "The tyranny of the cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servants made His cause the worse." "And therefore," said the Laird of Nyddrie, "we would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword; for it may be that you shall be disappointed; men now have other eyes than they had then."

Knox and Rough were now summoned before a convocation of the abbey and university, to answer for nine articles presented against them, "the strangeness of which, drawn from their sermons," had "moved" the sub-prior to demand an explanation. Knox replied for himself and his colleague in the tone of one to whom nothing, not even life itself, was so dear as truth. "The people," he said, "ought not to be deceived or left in the dark; if Rough or he had advanced anything unscriptural, he requested the sub-prior to expose it; but if, on the other hand, the doctrine they taught was true, it was his duty to give it the sanction of his authority." Winram, who cared just enough for the Reformed doctrines to make him wish to hush the inquiry up, replied that he came not there as a judge, that he would "neither approve nor condemn," but "reason a little." A "little" reasoning sufficed, and the sub-prior handed the argument over to a gray friar named Arbugkill,

who with ready confidence entered the lists, but soon retreated in disgrace. "For purgatory," says Knox, "the friar had no better authority than that of *Æneid* in his sixth book; and the pains of it, according to him, were a bad wife." Grown wise by experience, the Papists never again risked a public discussion with Knox.

Artifice suited them better, and finding they could not silence the Reformers, they gave orders that on Sundays the parish church pulpit should be filled by men connected with the abbey and university, by which scheme the Reformers were excluded from preaching at those times when the largest congregations assembled. This unusual diligence on the part of the clergy was calculated to win the hearts of the people, and, to profit by it, and avoid irritating either party, all points of controversy were forbidden. Knox, left to week-day ministrations, said "he wished the clergy were equally diligent in places where their instructions were more needed." But he made the most of his opportunities, and was thankful that the exclusion of controversy would be, he hoped, a security against anything being spoken contrary to the truth. And if Christ were preached, no matter by whom, he rejoiced, yea, and would rejoice.

And souls were given him for his hire. During the few months of his ministry at St Andrews, many from among the garrison in the castle and the townspeople, professed the Gospel, and received the Lord's supper. This was the first time that the ordi-

nance was administered in Scotland according to the Protestant ritual, except that one occasion when Wishart, shortly before his martyrdom, privately celebrated it in the same place.

About this time John Rough left the castle, and went to England, where he continued to preach until the death of Edward VI. Early in Mary's reign he fled to Norder in Friesland, where he supported himself and his wife (an Englishwoman) by knitting caps and stockings. Being in want of yarn to carry on his trade, he went to England for a supply in 1559. Upon reaching London, he heard of the "secret society" of the faithful, the congregation which ever since 1531 had, at set times, assembled for worship, in numbers varying from eighty to two hundred, and, though persecuted, had never been dispersed. At these meetings, remembering those that were in bonds as bound with them, they made collections in aid of their brethren who were sick or in prison; and sometimes the sum collected upon one night amounted to £10, equal to £100 of our money. The place of meeting was generally in Bow Street, Cheapside; but sometimes at Blackfriars, Battle Bridge, Islington; and even on board ship in the Thames.

Upon Rough's arrival in London, he joined this society, and was at once chosen their minister. Not long after, on the 17th of September, four martyrs from the country were burnt at Islington. Rough was present, as he said, "to learn the way." On

the 18th of November, three suffered in Smithfield; and as they were from among his own congregation, it is more than probable he was there to encourage and support them. His own day of trial was not far off. On Sunday morning, the 12th of December, the congregation assembled at Islington; suddenly the Queen's spies appeared, Rough and a deacon of the church were apprehended, and carried before Bonner. Thinking little about himself, Rough, two days before his martyrdom, wrote to his beloved flock a letter of advice and consolation. "My dear sons," he said, "now departing this life to my great advantage, I exchange mortality, for immortality, corruption, to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corn cast into the ground, which, except it die first, can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to my great advantage; for thereby the body ceaseth from sin, but after shall be changed and made brighter than the sun at noon. . . . What a journey, by God's power, I have made these eight days! (from the 12th to the 20th of December;) it is above flesh and blood to bear; but as St Paul saith, I may do all things in Him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run; I have fought a good fight; the crown of righteousness is laid up for me; my day to receive it is not long to. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault; stand constant unto the end, then shall ye possess your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein ye are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be

not ashamed of the Gospel of the cross by me preached, nor yet of my suffering ; for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before ; I suffer first the baiting of the butcher's dogs ; yet my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ, and your wisdom and learning will accept that small talent which I have distributed unto you, I trust, as a faithful steward. . . . The Spirit of God guide you, in and out, rising and sitting ; cover you with the shadow of His wing, defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily to the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb."

Shortly after this was written, Rough was again taken before Bonner, and having said something about his visit to Rome, and of the effect it had produced on his mind, Bonner, we are told, "rising up like a savage, laid hold of him by his beard, and actually tore part of it from the roots." The next day (December 21) he was delivered over to the secular power, and the following morning, at half-past five o'clock, he received the crown of martyrdom.

The little flock over whom he had watched was not forgotten by the great Shepherd of the sheep. Scarcely was he removed when Bentham, an exile from Switzerland, supplied his place, and so his words, spoken two days before his death, came to pass. "God knoweth," he said, "you are all tender unto me ; my heart bursteth for the love of you. You are not without your great Pastor of your souls, who so loveth you

that if men were not to be sought out, as, God be praised, there is no want of men, He would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that Rock; the wind of temptation shall not prevail. Fast and pray, for the days are evil."



## CHAPTER IV.

Siege and Surrender of the Castle of St Andrews—Knox, the Galley-slave—Set at Liberty—Goes to England—Preaches on the “Home Mission”—Consulted about the Revision of the Prayer-Book—His Marriage—King Edward’s Chaplain—Refuses a Bishopric—Leaves Scotland for Geneva.

THE conspirators who had assassinated Cardinal Beaton, being closely invested in the castle of St Andrews by the Regent, applied to Henry VIII. of England for assistance. In reply, he sent them arms and ammunition, whilst they, on their part, engaged to promote the marriage of Prince Edward with the young Queen of Scots, and to advance the Reformation in Scotland. After a struggle of four months, the garrison accepted terms of accommodation, but merely to gain time, as both parties looked for reinforcements from their respective friends in England and Scotland. But, in the meantime, Henry VIII. and Francis I. died; and as nothing but an appeal to arms could settle the question between the besieged and the Government, the conditions of the late agreement were set aside, upon the pretext, that the papal document promising pardon to the murderers of the Cardinal—in which the Pope said he had been in-

duced "to pardon an unpardonable crime"—was too ambiguously expressed to secure them against punishment, should they fall into the hands of their enemies; they therefore refused to open their gates, determined to hold out to the last.

In June 1547 a French fleet, under Leo Strozzi, invested the castle by sea, while the governor attacked it by land. After a brave resistance, the garrison was forced to surrender on the last day of July. Leslie and his friends laid down their arms upon the promise "that the lives of all within the castle should be spared; that they should be sent into France; and that, if their reception there displeased them, they should be conveyed, at the expense of the King, into any other country they pleased, Scotland only excepted." The castle itself, the monument of Beaton's power and vanity, was destroyed, in obedience to the canon law, which required that any house in which the sacred blood of a cardinal had been shed should be laid in ruins.

When all were on board, the fleet set sail, and, going up the Seine, anchored before Rouen, and there, at the instigation of the Pope and the Romish clergy, the terms of capitulation were violated. All were kept prisoners of war. Knox, who as chaplain had gone on board the fleet with his brethren, and a few others, were sent to the galleys, where, loaded with chains, they were treated with that severity which Rome measures out to heretics. The rest were sent to Rouen, Brest, and Mont St Michael.

From Rouen the galleys sailed to Nantes, and lay upon the Loire during the winter. Many attempts were made to induce the prisoners to change their religion, but in vain; not one was willing to accept liberty upon such terms, though threatened with torture for obstinacy. Captivity was aggravated by sickness. For a long time Knox lay in fever; but though weakened in body, his fortitude never forsook him, and he exhorted his companions to be of good courage, and hope to the end, saying, "God will deliver us to His glory, even in this life."

The following summer the fleet, while cruising on the eastern coast of Scotland, was becalmed within sight of St Andrews. Pointing to the castle, a fellow-prisoner asked Knox if he knew those spires and turrets. "Yes," he replied, "I know them well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth to His glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life until my tongue shall glorify Him in the same place."

And yet, hope deferred made his heart sick; but by prayer and thanksgiving, making his requests known unto God, he was comforted. Alluding to this time of trial, Knox says, in his "Treatise on Prayer," "I mean not that any man in extremity of trouble can be without present dolour, and without a greater fear of trouble to follow. *Trouble and fear are the very spurs to prayer.* For when man, compassed about with vehement calamities, and vexed with con-

tinual solitude, (having by help of man no hope of deliverance, with sore, oppressed, and punished heart, fearing also greater punishment to follow,) doth call upon God for comfort and support; such prayer ascendeth into God's presence, and returneth not in vain." Then, after illustrating his meaning by the 7th Psalm, he says—"This is not written for David only, but for all such as shall suffer tribulation to the end of the world. For I, the writer hereof, (let this be said to the praise of God alone,) in anguish of heart and vehement tribulation and affliction, called to the Lord, when not only the ungodly, but even my faithful brethren, yea, and my own self, (that is, all natural understanding,) judged my cause to be irremediable; and yet, in my great calamity, and when my pains were most cruel, His mercy hath proved true. . . . I know how hard the battle is between the flesh and the spirit, under the heavy cross of affliction, when no worldly defence, but present death, doth appear. I know the grudging and murmuring complaints of the flesh. I know the anger, wrath, and indignation it conceiveth against God, calling all His promises in doubt, and being ready, every hour, utterly to fall from God; against which rests only faith, provoking us to call earnestly, and pray for assistance of God's Spirit, wherein, if we continue, our most desperate calamities shall He turn to gladness and a prosperous end."

When free from fever, he wrote a confession of his faith, which he sent to Scotland, with an exhortation

to the Reformed party to "hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering." Some years after this, when defending himself before the Bishop of Durham, Knox thus alluded to this confession:—"Let no man think that I speak thus boldly because I am in England. No; God hath taken away that suspicion from me. For the body lying in most painful bands, in the midst of cruel tyrants, His mercy and goodness provided that the hand should write and bear witness to the confession of the heart, more abundantly than even the tongue spake."

Though closely confined and lodged in different prisons, the prisoners managed occasionally to write to each other. During his captivity, Henry Balnaves of Halhill wrote a "Treatise on Justification, and the Marks and Conversation of a Justified Man," which Knox divided into chapters, with marginal notes, and advised its being published in Scotland, for the comfort and edification of his brethren, as he had read it "once and again to the great comfort and consolation of his own spirit." "That," he says, "our merciful Father, amongst these tempestuous storms, beyond all men's expectation, hath provided some rest for us; this present work shall testify, which was sent to me when lying in irons in a galley, and sore troubled by corporeal infirmity."

The idea of escaping by breaking their prison doors, occurred to some of the prisoners; but others objected, lest, if they succeeded, those who remained behind should be subjected to more severe treatment.

Knox thought such an apprehension should not prevent the attempt being made, provided it did not involve the shedding of blood ; but “ to shed any man’s blood for their freedom he would not consent.” The attempt was made, and succeeded, “ without harm done to the person of any, or the loss of property to the King, the captain, or the house.”

After a dreary captivity of nineteen months, Knox was liberated in February 1549. By what means does not seem clear. Some think the galley in which he was confined was captured by the English ; some, that his friends ransomed him ; others, that the King of France ordered him to be set free, when he ascertained that he had borne no part in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. It is more likely, however, that, now that the marriage of the Dauphin with the Queen of Scots had received the consent of Parliament, the French court ceased to take an interest in the religious controversy which agitated Scotland, and that this indifference led to the liberation of the Reformer.

Once at liberty, Knox went to England, where Archbishop Cranmer, under the sanction of Edward VI., was promoting the Reformation. With consent of Parliament and the Privy Council, Cranmer invited Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and other Protestants from Germany, who, as professors in Cambridge and Oxford, helped the work by training young men for the ministry, whose special object it was to go about the country and preach the Gospel in those parishes where the local clergy were most

opposed to the Reformation, and the people, consequently, in the deepest ignorance. Knox was at once sent from London to Berwick, upon this "Home Mission." It was the kind of service he had longed for, and he entered upon it with his whole heart. "Not a novice, but apt to teach," his heart penetrated with the sense of Christ's love to sinners, and man's lost condition without Christ, and convinced that the Romish Church was idolatrous, he was well fitted to go into the dark places of England and offer the Gospel—free mercy, to all who would accept it, without money, and without price. And the Lord wrought with him. During the two years which he spent at Berwick, numbers left the Romish Church, and a decided improvement was observable in the conduct of the garrison, which had long been notorious for immorality.

Knox's popularity could not but irritate Tonsal, Bishop of the diocese, who was a furious bigot, and a firm upholder of the doctrine of transubstantiation. But, seeing that he had been appointed by the Protector and the Privy Council, the Bishop could not silence him; he, however, let his clergy know that he was ready to hear complaints against the offender, and he soon had enough of them. It appeared that, while Berwick was his head-quarters, Knox itinerated from time to time through the neighbouring district, and preached at Newcastle, where he told the people that "the sacrifice of the mass was idolatrous." Upon hearing which, the Bishop summoned Knox before



“the Council of the North,” to defend himself and his doctrine. It was not in Knox to own any man master upon earth, and, standing in the presence of the Bishop, the council, and the officers of the cathedral, he cautioned his audience against allowing the force of early education and custom to prejudice them *against* the truth of the Gospel and *in favour* of erroneous opinions and corrupt practices in religion. In defence of the doctrines he had preached, he declared that the mass, “even in her most high degree,” was “an idol invented by superstition, to the supplanting of the Lord’s supper, and dishonour of the person and sacrifice of Christ.” Before concluding, he alluded to “certain doctrines” which he had heard in that place the preceding Sabbath, and offered the preacher the notes he had taken of the sermon, that he might correct them if he wished, as he had “no desire to misinterpret any man, or make too much of words carelessly spoken.”

This defence added to Knox’s fame, and, at least for the time, silenced his enemies in the north of England. He remained at Berwick for some months, and then went to Newcastle. In December 1551 the Privy Council appointed him one of Edward’s chaplains. In the King’s private journal he says, “It was appointed that I should have six chaplains ordinary—these six to be, Bill, Harle, Perne, Grindal, Bradford, and ——.” The name of the sixth has been erased; but it is believed, on good authority, that it was Knox. “These,” says Bishop Bur-

net, "were the most zealous and readiest preachers, who went about as itinerants, to supply the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty." A salary of forty pounds a year was allotted to each. In this work Knox laboured indefatigably, often preaching every day in the week, besides conversing in private with those who gave him the opportunity. He saw a storm gathering, and worked while he could.

At this time, Knox was consulted about the revision of the Prayer-Book, and by his advice a change was made in the communion-office, by which the idea of the body of Christ being present in the sacrament was excluded, and the adoration of the elements guarded against. He, however, lamented that, while "God gave him boldness" to cause some "superstitions" to be removed, the habit of receiving the bread and wine kneeling still continued—a habit to which the Scotch Church objects, as implying adoration of the elements. His advice was also asked about the "Articles," which at that time were forty-two, and were in 1562 reduced to their present number, thirty-nine.

While at Berwick, Knox became acquainted with Margery Bowes, and, with her mother's consent, an engagement of marriage was entered into; but owing to her father's opposition, it was for some time delayed.

The joy with which the Romish party heard of the Duke of Somerset's fall, and the badly concealed

satisfaction with which they prophesied that the young King would not live long, filled Knox with alarm. In a sermon preached about Christmas, he declared that, "such as were enemies to the Gospel then preached in England were secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth." Bold words, but true. The commands, "Fear God and honour the king," stand or fall together. With many aggravations, they were repeated to some influential men about the court, who liked nothing better than so good a pretext to accuse the preacher before the Privy Council. They were encouraged to take this step, knowing that the Duke of Northumberland, being offended with Knox for lamenting the death of Somerset, had applied for his removal from the neighbourhood. Before starting for London, Knox wrote to tell Miss Bowes of his sudden departure, which would not allow him to "obtain leisure to remain the time of the sermon on the morrow." But in the midst of all he called her to rejoice with him, because "the same word that foreshpeaketh trouble, doth certify us of the glory consequent." "As for myself," he adds, "albeit the extremity should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for. But, alas ! I fear that yet I be not ripe nor able to glorify Christ by my death ; but what lacketh now, God shall perform in His own time. Be sure I will not forget you and your company, so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature."

Calumny travelled faster than Knox, and reached

London before him. Nevertheless he made his defence, and was acquitted,—permission being given him to return to Newcastle, that his innocence might be manifest to all. “This assault of Satan,” wrote Knox to his sister on the 23d of March 1553, “has been for the glory of God ; and therefore, sister, cease not to praise God, and to call for my comfort ; for great is the multitude of enemies, whom every one the Lord shall confound. I intend not to depart from Newcastle before Easter.” Then, alluding to his bodily sufferings, which were great, he adds—“My old malady troubles me sore ; and nothing is more contrarious to my health than writing. Think not I weary to visit you ; but unless my pain shall cease, I shall become utterly unprofitable. Work, O Lord, even as it pleaseth Thy infinite goodness, and relax the troubles at Thy own pleasure of such as seeketh Thy glory to shine.” Again, in another letter, he says—“The pain of my head and stomach troubles me greatly. Daily I find my body decay. I am charged to be at Widdrington on Sunday. There I think I shall remain Monday. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus rest with you. Desire such faithful, with whom ye communicate your mind, to pray that at the pleasure of our good God my dolour of body and spirit may be relieved somewhat, for presently it is very bitter. Never found I the Spirit, I praise God, so abundant when God’s glory ought to be declared ; and therefore *I am sure there abides something that we see not.*” “Your messenger,” he says

again, "found me in bed after a sore trouble and most dolorous night; and so dolour may complain to dolour when we meet. I am even in mind with faithful Job; yet most sore tormented that my pain shall have no end in this life; and this is more plain than ever I spake, to let you know you have a fellow and companion in trouble; and thus rest in Christ; for the head of the serpent is already broken down, and he is stinging us upon the heel." Coming from Knox, there is deep meaning in these utterances of weakness and suffering.

Knox found favour with the young King, and he offered him the living of All-Hallows, in the city. He refused it, being not satisfied with the state of the English Church. Some years later he refused a bishopric upon the same grounds. The council, displeased, summoned him to state his reasons for having slighted the King's favour. He replied that he thought he could serve his Master better in another sphere of duty. Being pressed to give his reasons more in detail, he confessed that, in his opinion, there were many matters in the English Church which called for reformation, without which ministers could not discharge their office conscientiously in the sight of God; and, in particular, he mentioned their not having authority, according to the existing laws, to refuse the sacrament of the Lord's supper to the unworthy, which he considered "a chief part of the minister's office." Upon being asked whether he thought kneeling at the Lord's table was a matter

of indifference, he replied that at its institution by Christ it was not so administered, and therefore he objected to the custom. The council advised him to try and bring his mind to acquiesce in the established order, and thus dismissed him.

But while Knox did not feel at liberty to accept any office in the Church of England, he rejoiced that her ministers were free to preach the pure Gospel throughout the land, and that thus idolatry and superstition were openly condemned. He thanked God for the "Home Mission" before mentioned, and was always glad to share its labours; but he conscientiously avoided forming any fixed engagement, which would have been on his part an assenting to that which he considered either unlawful or inexpedient.

The health of the King, which had been declining, now grew rapidly worse. Of his piety Knox had no doubt. After he was gone, he wrote to the faithful in London, saying, "We have lost a king of so goodly disposition towards virtue and the truth of God, that none from the beginning passed him." But his courtiers were not like-minded.

The sins of England now cried for vengeance on the land, and in the last sermon which Knox preached before Edward, (from St John xiii. 18,) he observed that often the best and most godly princes were surrounded by false counsellors: such as Ahithophel, under David; Shebna, under Hezekiah; Judas, under our Lord Jesus Christ. "What wonder is it, then," he added, "that a young and innocent king be de-

ceived by crafty, ambitious, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid that Ahithophel be counsellor, that Judas bear the purse, Shebna be comptroller and treasurer." As he spoke, he glanced towards the haughty premier and his relative, the Marquis of Winchester—"the crafty fox with a fair countenance."

The affability and gentleness of the King had so endeared him to his subjects, that they were never weary devising means by which to praise him. "The fable of the phoenix," says Bishop Burnet, "pleased most; so they made his mother one phoenix, and him another, rising out of her ashes. But graver men compared him to Josiah; and long after his death I find him named our Josiah; while others called him Edward the Saint." His death, and the accession of Mary Tudor, in 1553, struck despair into the hearts of almost all the friends of the Reformation. But Knox knew neither fear nor despondency. He remained in London until the 19th of July, when Mary was proclaimed Queen, then went to the north of England, and in August moved southwards, and resumed his labours as preacher. It was at this time that he wrote the confession and prayer for the use of the congregations to which he ministered, in which he prayed for the Queen, and for the suppression of rebellion among her subjects. Large congregations flocked to hear him as he travelled, during harvest, through Buckinghamshire and Kent, and especially at Aversham, in which the seed, sown long before by



Wycliffe, still bore fruit. Repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ were the burden of his preaching. In November he returned to London.

Towards the close of this year he had a great deal of annoyance about his marriage. Feeling deeply upon the subject, he thus wrote to Mrs Bowes:—“Dear mother, you shall understand that this 6th of November I spake with Sir Robert Bowes, on the matter you know, according to your request, whose disdainful, yea, despiteful words hath so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart. I regard not what country consumes this my wicked carcass; . . . and were it not that no man’s unthankfulness shall move me (God supporting my infirmity) to cease to do profit unto Christ’s congregation, those days should be few that England would give me bread. . . . It will be after the 12th day before I can be at Berwick; and almost I am determined not to come at all; you know the cause. God be more merciful to some than they are equitable to me in judgment. My conscience absolves me before His face who looks not upon the presence of men.” Nevertheless, before the end of the year Knox was married.

About the end of November, Parliament repealed the laws passed in favour of the Reformation, and re-established the Roman Catholic religion; but those who chose it might worship according to the Reformed manner until the 20th of December; after that they

would do so at their peril. Many of the bishops were thrown into prison, others escaped beyond sea ; Knox remained preaching, in and out of season. On the 23d of December he wrote to a friend, saying—"I may not answer your places of Scripture, or write the exposition of Psalm vi., for every day of this week I must preach, if this wicked carcass will permit."

Shortly after this his servant was seized, and robbed of the letters he was carrying ; though, from precaution, Knox had used his mother's name, Sinclair, instead of his own. Fearing that this bad news would reach his wife, he started for Berwick, to prove to her that he was safe. But to travel was now dangerous, and he was obliged to take shelter on the coast. The friends who had joined him entreated him to escape to the continent, and, says Knox, "partly by tears, and partly by admonition, they prevailed."

On the 20th of January 1554 he landed at Dieppe.

## CHAPTER V.

England and Scotland alike in some particulars connected with the Printing of the Scriptures—The Antwerp Ambassador—Alexander Ales, the First Advocate for the English Bible in Scotland—His Controversy with Cochlæus, and Letters to the King—Tyndale and Ales both exiled—Publication of the Scriptures in Scotland—The English Version of the Bible.

LEAVING Knox on his journey to Geneva, we take up the subject of this chapter—the Bible in Scotland—which will oblige us to recur to some facts already mentioned.

The principle of the Reformation was not liberty for every man to do that which was right in his own eyes; it was the assertion of the authority of the written Word, and of the independence of the individual conscience of all ecclesiastical dominion. And so we should expect to find that, when God's Word began to be exalted into its right place, as the authority by which to judge both doctrine and practice, it would be placed within the reach of all who desired to study it. And this was remarkably the case in Scotland, as well as in England.

Although so closely connected, England and Scotland did not depend upon each other for the gift of the English Scriptures. Both received Tyndale's

New Testament from the Continent, and both in the same year, 1526.

At that time John Hackett was English ambassador at Antwerp; and his business being to "see justice done" (which meant purchase and burn) to all such English books as were called the New Testament, and this, "for the preservation of Christian faith," informed Cardinal Wolsey, in a letter dated 20th February 1526, that "there were divers *merchants of Scotland* that bought many like books, and sent them from Zealand into Scotland; a part to Edinburgh, and more part to the town of St Andrews." As this was the close of the year, which then began in March, it is probable that these were not the first copies of Tyndale's New Testament brought into Scotland in that manner; as besides St Andrews, the ports of Leith, Montrose, and Aberdeen traded with Zealand. And as no official steps to exclude the Bible *by name* were taken for five years after this, we may reasonably believe that many copies entered again and again by those ports, and that most of them, as Hackett says, found their way to St Andrews, the "very metropolis of superstition."

Thus the year 1526, in which England and Scotland received the English New Testament, "becomes," as it has been observed, "by far the most remarkable in the annals of our country." But the precious volume was not welcomed: both countries alike deprecated its arrival as an evil of the greatest magnitude. It was more than ten years before England,

and seventeen before Scotland, accepted this highest national blessing. It was during this period that Parliament passed the Acts already mentioned, to prohibit the entrance of Luther's writings into the country.

Like Christ himself, His Word came, not to bring peace, but a sword. Martyrdom followed in its track; the first, as we have seen, in 1528, and yet, before the close of that year, we find traces of the continued arrival of the New Testament. While searching for Tyndale at Cologne, copies of his translation were discovered, "which," says the inquisitor, writing to Wolsey, "would," but for my interposition, "have been pressed together, and covered over with flax, and enclosed in packages, would, in time, without any suspicion, have been transmitted by sea into Scotland and England, and have been sold as merely waste paper."

During the five years between 1529 and 1534—beginning seven years before Henry VIII.'s breach with Rome—the first decided controversy in Britain, respecting the right of every one "both high and low, rich and poor, together," to read the Scriptures for themselves, took place. The struggle was in Scotland, but the name of Alexander Ales, who stood in the forefront of the battle, was long wellnigh forgotten. That, persecuted in his own land, he fled to the Continent, and died a professor at Leipsic, was almost all that was known of him. "Nothing," observes Mr Anderson, "has ever been said to distin-

guish him sufficiently from his contemporaries, or mark the obligation under which he laid his country to the lasting remembrance of his name.” \*

But though forgotten, he did not forget, and the only fragment of his writings which has ever been reprinted, is his description of Edinburgh, his “own romantic town,” which “fond memory” brought before him in a foreign land.

Alexander Ales, the first advocate in Scotland for the right of every man to read the Scriptures in his own tongue, was born in Edinburgh on the 23d of April 1500. Having finished his education at St Andrews, he was ordained priest, and made a canon of the cathedral. Nothing more is known of him until he was twenty-eight years of age, when the terrible fact transpired that by means of prohibited books, some canons and students of the university were infected by the “new learning.” Ales read these books to refute them, and when Patrick Hamilton was delivered unto death, he undertook to reclaim him and save his life. But he failed ; and overcome by the arguments, and yet more by the noble constancy of the martyr, he acknowledged himself conquered, and embraced the Gospel. His faith was sorely tested the following year ; and after much endurance, he fled to Dundee, and sailed for the Continent in 1531. Scarcely had he escaped, when the bishops issued an order to “prohibit the New Testament from being read or sold.”

\* Annals of the English Bible.

Remembering the kindness of his sovereign, James V., who in 1529 liberated him from the "dreadful dungeon" into which the bishops had cast him, and not knowing that, under the influence of the priesthood, he was so changed as by his presence to sanction the burning of his subjects, Ales wrote to remonstrate with him concerning this tyrannical order of Beaton and his colleagues. Ignorant of the facts of the case, he informed him that, no doubt "without his majesty's authority," the obnoxious edict had been put forth; and added, "I thought it therefore my duty to write to you, that you may interpose your authority, and consult both the glory of God, and also the reputation of your kingdom. For what kind of precedent is it that men should be debarred from the oracles of Christ? What else could the Turks or other nations hostile to the Christian name do, than to take care that the people touch not the sacred Books—that they should not know the benefits of Christ and His most holy precepts, . . . from the very words of Christ, and testimonies of His apostles?" Thus, in 1533, while John Fryth was perishing in the flames in England, Alexander Ales was, for the same holy cause, pleading with James V. of Scotland.

Neither the King nor any one of his subjects answered this letter. But it was scarcely read in Scotland, when John Cochläus, the unwearied foe of the Reformation, who had in 1525 interrupted the printing of Tyndale's New Testament at Cologne, and thus



caused it to be printed at Worms—just four years after Luther's confession before the diet—this old enemy, wrote to the King. It has been said that Cochläus, "while ever ready to *reply* to an argument, was seldom able to answer one:" and certainly his "reply" to the letter of Ales is no exception to that remark. On the 8th of June it appeared—160 pages, in answer to 26. The title—"Whether it be expedient for the Laity to read the Books of the New Testament in the Vernacular Tongue"—stated its subject.

True to his character, Cochläus spared no abuse which he could cast upon Luther and his cause. Though "not certain" whether Ales were "a real or fictitious man," he insisted that "he must be a Lutheran," and that his letter to the King "must have come" from that hotbed of heresy, "Wittenberg," and repeats the stupid falsehood, that Tyndale and Roye having gone to Wittenberg, there translated "Luther's New Testament" into English. And not aware that the obnoxious volume had already reached Scotland, he, "from affection alone," warns the King not to admit it, as "any translation of the New Testament, even the best and most undoubted," if it be "in the vulgar tongue," must be productive of evil. In this way Cochläus lashed the mind of the young King into a frenzy against Luther and the New Testament; and before ending, darkly hinted his suspicion that Ales was engaged in the sinful traffic of transmitting copies secretly, "through merchants, by the Elbe to Hamburgh, which looks over to Scot-

land!" "It will be necessary, therefore," he adds, "that all merchandise brought from Germany be diligently searched and examined, lest this schemer among the Saxons (Luther) should so be concealed, that he slay the unspotted; according to that of the psalmist—'*Under his tongue are labour and sorrow. He sitteth in hiding-places with the rich*'—(i.e., the merchants!)—'*in secret places, that he may slay the innocent. His eyes look upon the poor,*' (i.e., the simple people, who know only their mother tongue!) This, O King," continued the faithful monitor, "is the warning of the Holy Ghost by the mouth of King David; to which, unless you carefully attend, your kingdom will be laid open to the same kind of snares."

In 1534, "The answer of Alexander Ales, Scotsman, to the calumnies of Cochlæus," arrived from the Continent. Still ignorant of the change in the King's mind, Ales simply aimed to set him right upon matters in which Cochlæus had misled him. He assured him that his people valued the Scriptures, and read them in secret—that he himself was not a Lutheran; "since," he says, "in truth I have not known Luther at all: for I do not know the German language, in which he has written so much; yet I think," he adds, "we ought to be grateful to good men, whoever they be, *who recall us to Scripture, and the true doctrine of the Church.*" He then affirmed that Luther's German New Testament and Tyndale's English translation were quite independent

of each other. In this letter, Ales enforced the necessity of repentance and faith ; reliance on the free mercy of God in Christ for the forgiveness of sins ; while the utter uselessness of the invocation of saints, which “ beclouded the glory of Christ ; ” and of the mass, “ got up among the nations for filthy lucre’s sake,” was as plainly stated. But the chief value of this and the previous letter consisted in the zeal and ability with which Ales contended for the right of every man to have *unlimited access* to the Scriptures in his own language. Mourning over the depraved morality of Scotland, and convinced that *personal* religion could only be promoted by “ domestic reading of the Scriptures,” he thus pleads with his sovereign : “ It remains that we say something of the decree by which the reading of the New Testament in the native tongue is prohibited. But I think there is no need of a long oration in a cause which is so plain. God commanded the law to be written on the lintels of houses, and borders of garments, to be always in view ; and are Christians to be prevented from reading the sacred Books ? Even if the preachers in the churches taught purely and piously, still the domestic exercise of pious minds ought not to be interrupted.” Besides, “ domestic reading,” he urges, “ is necessary for the instruction of youth,” who “ cannot be sufficiently taught by public services, however good and plain they be.” “ In Germany,” he says, “ boys and girls in almost all the more respectable families read the New Testament, learn psalms, and

read other useful books upon good morals ;” and this in places “which have *had no business with Luther*.” “Good teachers,” added Ales, “will not object to domestic reading of Scripture, but will illustrate God’s Word by their preaching. But the monks, who, like thieves, hate noise, struggle earnestly against this reading, because they fear lest their errors and abuses should be detected, if once compared with the Gospel.”

Having touched upon the objections brought forward by Cochläus, Ales assures the King that they were intended, not only to frighten the common people, but himself, and prevent him from studying God’s Word. “But,” he says, “we oppose to all that can be said one sentence of St Paul—‘*All Scripture* divinely inspired is profitable for teaching . . . that a man may be perfect, and furnished to every good work.’”

This letter put Cochläus into a fury, and he wrote to the King, and assured him that Melancthon, not Ales, was the author of both letters. And again, on the 13th of August, he wrote, thus proving that, though he professed to consider Ales the most despicable of mortals, he knew that his efforts were producing very important results. Of this, indeed, there was abundant evidence when the flames of persecution for the third time blazed forth on the 27th of August. The spot—evidently chosen for effect—was on the northern brow of the Calton Hill, above the cross at Greenside: “to the intent,” says

Calderwood, "that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror and fear, not to fall into the like." The King presided, clothed in scarlet, the judicial dress of Scotland in matters of life or death.

Thus, at the close of 1534, England and Scotland were alike in this: both Governments bitterly opposed the introduction of the Scriptures; and yet in both countries they had been for eight years read in secret, held fast even unto death, while, as if to manifest that the work was altogether "of God," those two men—William Tyndale, the translator of the New Testament, and Alexander Ales, its principal advocate in Scotland—were both exiles in a foreign land. They never returned to their homes. Tyndale was imprisoned at Vilvorde in 1535, and suffered martyrdom there the following year. His last words were, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England." Ales removed to Antwerp, in consequence of the opposition of Cochläus. He and Tyndale never met in this life. Having become, about 1534, the intimate friend of Melancthon, Ales was invited to England early in 1535, and was known in London as "the king's scholar." He remained four years in England, part of the time as professor of divinity at Cambridge. "I was sent there," he says, "to read a lecture on the Scripture, but the cross always follows Christ's doctrine," and his lecture was not approved by the university. So he returned to London, and practised for some time as a physician. While thus engaged

he was unexpectedly invited by Lord Crumwell to attend a convocation of the bishops, at which he vindicated "the authority and all-sufficiency of the Word of God," and was the first (in Britain) to declare that the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper, should alone be acknowledged as such. In 1539 Ales went abroad, and *for the first time* visited Wittenberg. Three years after, he went to Leipsic, where he lived as professor for twenty-three years, and died on the 17th of March 1565, aged sixty-five.

We now retrace our steps, to follow the Bible through Scotland.

The opposition to Tyndale's translation gathered strength; and on the 8th of June 1535 Parliament not only repeated the Act of 1525 and 1527 against the importation of prohibited books, but further enacted that "all persons having such books should deliver them up within forty days, under penalty of confiscation and imprisonment." "Discussion of opinions" was at the same time forbidden, an exception being made in favour of "clerks in the schools," who might read, in order to refute them. Many, however, read them, to be convinced of the truth they contained. The mass of the people, "New Testamenters," as they were called, were well disposed towards the Scriptures, and in May 1536 "the reading of God's Word in the vulgar tongue" was publicly prohibited.

The period between 1538 and 1542 was very gloomy in Scotland: nothing seemed to prosper but

the knowledge of Divine truth ; everything else went the downward road. In reference to these years Buchanan says, "There were many thousand men who did not hesitate to peruse the books of the Old and New Testaments." David Beaton, as ambitious as Wolsey, was ever on the watch to add to his power, no matter by what means. Having gone to France to negotiate for a second Queen for James V., he returned, ten months after the death of Madeline, with a very different person, Mary of Lorraine. Having on the way received a French bishopric, he applied to the Pope for higher honour, and with success. Paul III. made him a cardinal on the 20th of December 1538. That very month persecution, which had seemed to slumber since 1534, revived in Scotland. It was now thirteen years since the English Scriptures had entered Scotland, and though they had not "free course," they were "glorified."

On Thursday the 14th of December 1542, James V. died, in the 31st year of his age. Beaton, having attained the highest post he aimed at, tried to grasp the regency, and, before the funeral, forged a will in the name of the deceased King, constituting himself Regent ; but the forgery was detected, and the nobility took the oath of allegiance to the infant Queen as their sovereign, and to the Earl of Arran as their governor until she became of age ; and, having done this, they imprisoned the cardinal.

We pass over many matters of interest in those eventful days, and come to the 12th of March 1543,



when "the most substantial Parliament that ever was seen in Scotland in any man's remembrance" met. Business began on Tuesday, and ended in three days. On the last day, Lord Maxwell, who was well disposed towards God's Word, though while under the sway of Beaton he feared to avow it, brought in a bill to allow "the Scriptures to be read by all, without any limitation," and moreover, "in the vulgar tongue." After fierce opposition from "all the prelates of the realm that were present," the bill passed, and *has never been repealed*. The passing of this bill proved that Beaton's influence was on the decline. Still the "liberty" it granted, while it allowed all to "have and to read" the Scriptures, forbid discussion upon their doctrines, "under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament." But as it was declared lawful "to have" the Scriptures, it clearly could not be unlawful to import them.

Shortly after this, the Regent of Scotland, the Earl of Arran, changed his politics and his religion, and Cardinal Beaton regained authority. It is, therefore, not surprising that persecution set in against those who dared to express opinions contrary to the teaching of the Church. It was then that George Wishart suffered martyrdom, March 1, 1546; hurried to death without any trial, by the Cardinal, which act "the Lord God of recompenses" did surely "requite." Nor can we wonder to find that during those dark days no edition of the Bible entire, or of the New Testament separately, was printed. But it does seem

strange that it was not until 1579—thirty-five years after the death of Beaton, its bitter enemy, and seven years after the death of Knox, its friend and advocate—that the first copy of the Bible was printed in Scotland. This was a cumbrous folio edition, which cost £4, 13s. 4d., intended chiefly “that in every parish kirk there should be at least one kept, to be called *the common book of the kirk*.” And so great was the anxiety of the parishioners to procure this Bible, that they contributed a large proportion of the requisite money while it was being printed. A second edition, similar in size, followed thirty years after, (1610;) and it was not until 1633—ninety years after it had been declared by Act of Parliament lawful “to have and to read” the Bible in English, and one hundred and seven years after Tyndale’s New Testament had been brought to Edinburgh, St Andrews, and other Scottish ports—that the third (an octavo edition) was issued from the Scottish press. Other editions followed, but the first pocket Bible printed in Scotland was in 1638. And yet, in proportion to its population, perhaps the Bible has been more read in Scotland than in any other part of the world. The bread of life, which first came from the Continent, was to be found in almost every house in the kingdom before the first Bible was printed in Scotland, in 1579. This we know from the dedication to James VI., in which the Assembly acknowledges the goodness of God to their country, the difference “between those days of light, when almost in every house the Book of

God's law is read and understood in our vulgar tongue, and that age of darkness, when scarcely in a whole city (without the cloisters of monks and friars) could the Book of God once be found, and that in a strange tongue of Latin, not good, but mixed with barbarity."

Since the middle of the seventeenth century our authorised version has, without a single interruption, been the Bible of Great Britain and Ireland, and wherever the English language is spoken. Many thoughts suggest themselves at the mention of this fact. "Not one hour of the twenty-four," it has been remarked, "not one round of the minute-hand of the dial is allowed to pass, in which, in some portion of the surface of the globe, the air is not filled with accents that are ours. They are heard in the ordinary transactions of life, or in the administration of law; in the deliberations of the senate-house or council-chamber; in the hours of private devotion, or in the public observance of the rites and duties of a common faith." The English Bible at this moment is the only version in existence upon which the sun never sets. What honour has God conferred upon Britain like unto this!

## CHAPTER VI.

Knox at Geneva longs to Return Home—Self-examination—Progress of Truth in Scotland—Troubles at Frankfort—Knox returns to Scotland—Review of the Period during his Absence—Knox's Preaching bearing Fruit—The Reformed Party openly Separate from Rome—Knox Preaches through parts of Scotland, and is listened to by Multitudes—Knox writes to the Queen-Regent—He Returns to Geneva.

THE thought that he had left his flock without a shepherd, and by his flight seemed to desert the cause of Christ, so haunted Knox that he had scarcely reached Dieppe when he longed to return to his charge. "Why, then, did I fly?" he said, writing to a friend. "Assuredly I cannot tell; but of one thing I am sure, the fear of death was not the chief cause. I trust that one cause hath been to let me see with my corporeal eyes that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus that in the day of rest and peace have a fair face. But my fleeing is no matter; by God's grace I may come to battle before that all the conflict is ended. And haste the time, O Lord, at Thy good pleasure, that once again my tongue may praise Thy holy name before the congregation, if it were but in the very hour of death."

Deprived of his usual employments, his thoughts turned inwards, and the question, how he had discharged the trust committed to him, demanded an answer. The Lord's command to Peter, "Feed my sheep—feed my lambs," seemed as if addressed to himself, and convicted him of much shortcoming before God. "Peradventure," he said, "I satisfy many men, but not myself. O Lord! be merciful to my offence; and deal not with me according to my great iniquity, but according to the multitude of Thy mercies."

To spend his time lamenting over the past was not Knox's temptation, and he now finished his commentary on the 6th Psalm, and wrote a pastoral letter to those among whom he had ministered in various parts of England.

On the last day of February 1554 he left Dieppe, and travelled through France to Geneva, where he was warmly welcomed. But his heart was in Scotland, and three times during the following twelve months he returned to Dieppe, to be within reach of hearing of his persecuted brethren. The letters he received grieved him—the furnace grew hotter and hotter, and the love of many waxed cold. In an agony lest his wife and her mother should faint in the day of battle, he wrote to strengthen their faith. "Though no earthly creature," he said, "be offended with you, yet fear ye the presence and offence of Him, who, present in all places, searcheth the very hearts and reins—whose indignation, once kindled against the disobedient, (and no sin more inflameth His wrath

than idolatry,) no creature in heaven nor in earth is able to appease."

His "Admonition to England" was published about this time. It has been censured as harsh and vindictive, "but," asks Dr Guthrie, "who quarrels with the ruggedness of the rock that presents a bold front to the roaring sea, and, withstanding their shock, flings back the proud waves into their bed, defending the land from deluge, and its inhabitants from death? Knox was not more stern than the time required."\* His means at this time were scarcely sufficient to afford him the common necessities of life. "My own estate," he wrote to Mrs Bowes, "I cannot well declare; but God shall guide the footsteps of him that is wilsome, and will feed him in trouble that never greatly solicited for the world. If any collection might be made among the faithful, it were no shame for me to receive that which St Paul refused not in the time of his trouble. But all I remit to His providence, that ever careth for His own." Though fifty years of age when Knox went to Geneva, he there studied Hebrew with all the energy of youth, and mastered the language.

Meanwhile persecution drove numbers of English Protestants to the Continent, and Geneva, Zurich, Basle, Wesel, Strasburg, Frankfort, and other cities paid back the debt of gratitude contracted in the days of Edward VI., when German and Swiss refugees found shelter in England.

\* Speaking to the Heart.

A French Protestant church had for some time existed at Frankfort, and upon July 14, 1554, the magistrates gave the English permission to use it, jointly with the French, for public worship, upon this condition, that they would, as much as possible, conform to the usage of the French Church. The English assented, and invited Knox to be their pastor. Though busy with his Hebrew, he obeyed the call, as from God, and reached Frankfort in November. Dissension respecting the liturgy to be used had broken out before he arrived. The English exiles declared they would accept none but "the last set forth by King Edward." But they had been given the use of the church upon conditions which such a determination violated.

It was natural that the English should cling to that Book, when those who had compiled it were laying down their lives for the truth it contained, and many others were suffering for their attachment to it. But it was not reasonable to expect that Knox, who conscientiously objected to some parts of the Prayer-Book, should sympathise with those exiles. Anxious, however, to make peace, he advised that nothing should be decided until "learned brethren in other places" had been consulted. He himself wrote to Calvin, who, in his reply, said some harsh things about the English service; still his letter, expressing surprise at "such unseemly contentions," had, on the whole, a good effect in moderating the excitement of both parties.



A committee was then called to draw up a form of worship, embodying as much of the English liturgy as "their circumstances and the general ends of edification permitted." This service was to be used until August, and if any dispute arose in the interval, it was to be referred to five foreign divines of undoubted piety and learning. Unfortunately, this agreement was broken, the congregation dispersed, and Knox returned to Geneva.

The evening before he left Frankfort, (March 25, 1555,) about fifty members of his congregation met at his house, to whom he delivered a touching and comforting address. The next day they accompanied him some miles on his journey, sorrowing that they should see his face no more.

Calvin was no stranger to such trials. He knew their bitterness, and gladly received Knox back. But now again, free to choose, his heart turned to Scotland, as the needle to the pole. "To preach a few more sermons there" was his heart's desire. So in the end of August he once more left Geneva, and, sailing from Dieppe, landed on the eastern coast of Scotland, determined to "spare no arrows," but to sacrifice everything for the complete establishment of the Reformation. By the end of harvest he reached Berwick, where he found his wife and her mother, living among friends who, like themselves, had stood fast in the faith. He soon started for Edinburgh.

It was now eight years since Knox left Scotland, an exile, upon the surrender of the castle of St An-

drews in 1547. That was a gloomy day for the Reformation, which carried many of its best friends to France, leaving the timid and irresolute an easy prey to the enemy. The clergy triumphantly boasted of their victory, confident that, by the united power of Church and State, secured to them by the apostasy of the Regent, heresy would soon be rooted out of the land.

But the invasion of Scotland by the Duke of Somerset, the disastrous battle of Pinkie Cleugh, which united Protestant and Catholic in a common cause, made it expedient that no extreme measures should be taken against the Protestants, whom it was the Regent's interest to conciliate rather than irritate. But no sooner had the alarm of war ceased than he wheeled about; not, indeed, that open persecution was attempted,—the primate had too vivid a recollection of the fate of his predecessor to attempt that,—but from time to time Arran contrived to bring Protestants to trial, charged with crimes against the State, which answered his purpose as well. Many thus perished on the scaffold, though nothing criminal had been proved against them.

The treaty of peace with England in 1550 was the signal for the revival of open persecution, and again the flames ascended from the Castle Hill. The following year Parliament renewed the law in support of the Church, and passed a statute against the circulation of heretical ballads, but while bent on the extirpation of heresy, it overlooked the corruptions which disgraced the Romish clergy and called for reformation.

During 1549, and the three following years, several provincial councils were held, at which excellent laws were made to check the evil. But as the execution of them was intrusted to the very persons whose interest it was rather to connive at evil than bring it to light, very little was done except in the way of making public the monstrous immorality of the Romish priesthood.

From 1551 to 1554 the Reformation languished in Scotland; Protestant teachers were driven into a corner; private gatherings of the people almost ceased throughout the land. Many who professed the Reformed faith kept their opinions to themselves, and a few complied outwardly to the Romish form of worship. In the midst of this unsatisfactory state of things, two events occurred which augured badly for the Reformation, but proved the means of its revival—upon the 6th of July 1553 Mary Tudor ascended the throne of England; and, upon the 10th of April following, the Regent resigned his office into the hands of Mary of Lorraine, the Queen-dowager, and, as Duke of Chatelherault, retired into private life.

Mary of Guise had already won the affections of the Protestant party, by befriending them against the severity of the Earl of Arran, after his apostasy. The love of power dictated that course. And now, to bind them to support her as Regent, she pledged herself to shield them from the violence of the clergy. Thus encouraged, the Reformed party began to speak out and avow their sentiments.

In the meantime, Mary of England married Philip of Spain, and consequently looked coldly upon the Queen-Regent for her attachment to France, the rival of Spain. So, when the persecuted fled from the cruelty of Mary, they were sheltered in Scotland, and allowed to live in peace, and even to teach their doctrines in private; and this was, in a measure, owing to the Regent's pledge already mentioned, and partly from the hostility which the two Marys felt towards each other. These exiled preachers, travelling through the country, rekindled the zeal of many who had received the truth, but had left their first love.

William Harlow, formerly a tailor in Edinburgh, who had fled to England, and there been ordained a deacon in Edward VI.'s reign, was the first preacher who, at this time, returned to Scotland. He was followed by John Willock, who had been a Scottish Franciscan friar. While young, he left his monastery, and fled to England. During the persecution for the six articles in 1541, he was imprisoned, and some time after was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Sussex, the father of Lady Jane Grey. When Mary became Queen, Willock went to Embden. In 1555 the Duchess of Friesland sent him to Scotland with a letter to the Queen-Regent, upon matters connected with the two countries. He soon became intimate with the leading Protestants in Edinburgh, and helped them by his learning and piety.

Such was the state of things when Knox returned to Scotland. The friends of the Gospel soon gathered

round him. There were many just then in Edinburgh, who had come from the country to meet Willock. John Erskine of Dun—he who had opened the first Greek school in Montrose—was there; William Maitland of Lethington, secretary to the Queen-Regent, a young man of talent and education, was there. And these brought their friends, and they theirs, to hear a preacher such as neither Romanist nor Protestant had ever heard before; whose intense, fervent, burning spirit caused many a lukewarm heart to kindle into a flame, as he spoke of things to come—the assurance of a heavenly crown to those who were “faithful unto death.”

Knox had intended to return to Berwick in a few days; but how could he leave those who “night and day came to hear him?”

“The ways of man are not in his own power,” he wrote (Nov. 4, 1555) to Mrs Bowes. “Although my journey to Scotland was most contrary to my own judgment, . . . yet this day I praise you, who were the cause external of my resort to these quarters; that is, I praise God in you and for you, whom He made the instrument to draw me from the den of my own ease, . . . the rest of quiet study, to behold the fervent thirst of our brethren, night and day sobbing and groaning for the bread of life. If I had not seen it with my own eyes, in my country, I could not have believed it. . . . The fervency here doth far exceed all others that I have seen. And therefore ye shall patiently bear, although I spend here some days;

for depart I cannot, until such time as God quench their thirst a little. My commendation to all your company. I commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent. In great haste.—Your son,

“JOHN KNOX.”

It was at this time that the Reformed party in Scotland openly separated from the Romish Church. Hitherto they had, “to avoid scandal,” attended Popish worship. But such indecision could not satisfy Knox, who was, says Mr Froude, “the representative of all that was good in Scotland, no narrow-minded fanatic, but a large, noble, generous man, with a shrewd perception of actual fact, who found himself face to face with a system of hideous iniquity.” Indeed, in the eyes of all seriously-minded persons, the mass could no longer be defended, identified as it was with the most flagrant immorality in the lives of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Romish Church.

Having executed his commission, Willock returned to Embden, and Knox accompanied Erskine of Dun to his home in Ayrshire. During the month that he remained there, he preached almost every day. After that, he lived for some time at Calder House, in West Lothian. A picture of Knox still hangs against the wall in one of the rooms; on the back of it is inscribed —“The Rev. John Knox. The first sacrament of the Lord’s supper given in Scotland after the Reformation, was dispensed in this hall.” This must allude to the *establishment* of the Reformation, for John Knox,

as we have seen, administered the sacrament at St Andrews in 1547.

Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle; Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar; and Lord James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Murray, names famous in later years, were among his hearers at Calder House, and not "forgetful hearers." Knox's straightforward, thorough-going honesty, allowed of no halting between two opinions, and after a long and warm discussion between him and Maitland about the lawfulness of complying with old-established customs, the secretary yielded, saying, that "such shifts would serve nothing before God, when they stood in so small stead before men."

Early in 1556 Knox went to Kyle, the ancient home of the Scottish Lollards. Before Easter he visited the Earl of Glencairn, and returning to Calder House, again resided at Dun, and preached more openly than before.

Almost all the principal men of Mearns now professed the Reformed faith. Sitting round the Lord's table, they pledged themselves to renounce the Romish religion, and to promote the pure preaching of the Gospel, by whatever means lay within their power. The silver cups used upon that occasion were, until late years, preserved by the Glencairn family at Finlayston, and were used in the parish church whenever the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered.

Even had it been advisable, it was now no longer



possible to keep secret the time and place, when and where, Knox would preach. At Ayr his sermons were the subject of conversation even at court in the presence of the Queen-Regent. Some said the preacher was an Englishman. "No," said Beaton, "it is that knave, Knox." "It was my lord's pleasure," said Knox, "so to baptize a poor man; . . . but what my life and conversation have been since it pleased the Lord to call me from the puddle of Papistry, let my very enemies speak."

As each day added to his party, the Romish clergy, becoming more and more alarmed, summoned Knox on the 15th of May to appear before an ecclesiastical convention in the church of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh. Summoned, but not expected, they thought him as cowardly as themselves, and when told that he would appear on the appointed day, they withdrew the summons. Knox kept his word, and, to his astonishment, found the diet deserted; and standing, not as a culprit to be judged of man's judgment, but in the pulpit, he preached to a larger audience than he had ever before addressed in Edinburgh. For the following ten days he preached each day from the same pulpit, no man opposing him.

These labours prevented his return to Berwick. "God hath laid impediments in the way of that," he said, writing to Mrs Bowes, "which I could not avoid. They are such as I doubt not are to His glory and to the comfort of many an heir. The trumpet blew the old sound three days together, till private houses of

indifferent largeness could not contain the voice of it. God, for Christ's sake, grant me to be mindful that the sobs of my heart hath not been in vain, nor neglected in the presence of His Majesty. Oh ! sweet were the death that should follow such days in Edinburgh as I have had three. Rejoice, mother, the time of our deliverance approacheth ; for as Satan cryeth, so does the grace of the Holy Spirit abound, and daily giveth new testimonies of the everlasting love of our merciful Father."

It was about this time that the Earl Marshal attended one of Knox's evening meetings, and, struck by the truth and soberness of his doctrine, he joined with Glencairn in advising him to write to the Queen-Regent, and supplicate protection for himself and his brethren, and at the same time try to win her to the Gospel. He did so ; and while his letter is that of a man fired with zeal for the cause he advocated ; of one who remembered that, it being God's cause, no man could stay its progress, yet there were no harsh or irritating expressions in it. On the contrary, Knox acknowledged "the moderation and clemency" which the Regent had already extended "towards others," and asked a continuance of such "towards himself and his most desperate cause."

The Earl of Glencairn, the bearer of this letter, delivered it into the hands of the Regent, who, glancing over its contents, tossed it with a careless air to the Archbishop of Glasgow, saying, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil?" Hearing of its ungracious

reception, Knox shortly after published the letter, with some additions, in which, adverting to the royal scorn, he said, "As charity persuadeth me to interpret things doubtfully spoken in the best sense, so my duty to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince on earth) compelleth me to say, that if no more ye esteem the admonition of God nor the cardinals do the scoffing of pasquils, then He shall shortly send for messengers with whom ye shall not be able on that manner to jest. I did not speak to you, madam, by my former letter, nor yet do I now, as pasquils doth to the Pope, in behalf of such as dare not utter their names. I come in the name of Jesus Christ, affirming that the religion ye maintain is damnable idolatry; the which I offer myself to prove by the most evident testimonies of God's Scripture. And in this quarrel I present myself against all the Papists within the realm, desiring none other armour but God's holy Word and the liberty of my tongue."

At this critical moment Knox received a pressing invitation to become pastor to the English congregation at Geneva, composed partly of those who had left Frankfort in 1555. Strange to say, he at once accepted it; and, desiring his wife and her mother, now a widow, to meet him at Dieppe, he went about the country to bid farewell to the various congregations to whom he had been ministering. With his friend, Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, he visited the Earl of Argyle, and preached at Castle Campbell.

The grace of God was with him, and made him a blessing to the aged earl, who ever after held fast to the Protestant cause, and, when dying, committed it to the care of his eldest son.

It was hard to let such a man go, when "days were dark, and friends were few;" but Knox had made up his mind, convinced that God called him to "that little flock," and go he would. But "if God so blessed their small beginnings that they continued in godliness," he promised Argyle that "whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient."

In July 1556 Knox joined his family at Dieppe, and before the end of harvest reached Geneva.

His departure was rather a relief to the bishops and friars, who dreaded a personal encounter with him. When he was fairly out of their reach, they summoned him to stand his trial, and, upon his not appearing, burnt him in effigy at the High Cross in Edinburgh in 1556.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Queen Regent oppresses the Protestants—Knox invited to return home—He consents—Circumstances detain him at Geneva—Knox publishes his “Blast” against Female Government—The “Harbour” appears in reply—Martyrdom of Walter Milne—Conspiracy in France to dethrone Elizabeth—The Princes of Lorraine and Mary of Guise—The Lords of the Congregation oppose the Regent—Harlow, Douglas, Willock, and others proscribed, and protected by the Lords—Knox discovers the Conspiracy to dethrone Elizabeth, and proves her faithful friend.

THE time had not yet come for a general Reformation in Scotland, and had Knox remained in the land, he would probably have fallen a victim to the rage of the clergy. God spared Scotland this loss, and withdrew His servant into shelter, by which means the storm which he had roused abated a little, and those of his brethren who remained behind were enabled to ride it out. Remembering his parting admonition—to study the Scriptures, come what would, to meet together, when practicable, for mutual comfort and instruction, and to begin and end all their meetings with prayer, they were confirmed in the doctrine which they had received.

Knox was warmly welcomed back to Geneva. In

his colleague, Christopher Goodman, he found a friend, while Calvin and others, to whom he was long known, rejoiced to see him again. To him Geneva appeared "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on the earth;" and he "could not cease to wish that it might please God to guide his persecuted brethren to the same haven of rest." "In other places," he said, "I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."

Still, Scotland was the home of his affections, around which his fondest thoughts gathered. "My daily prayer is," he wrote to a friend, "not only that I may visit you, but also that with joy I may end my battle among you. And assure yourself of this, that whenever a greater number among you shall call upon me than here hath bound me to serve them, by His grace it shall not be the fear of punishment, neither yet of the death temporal, that shall impede my coming to you."

These were not empty words. When Knox spoke thus of "the death temporal," he knew that it awaited his return, unless God interposed in his behalf. But enthusiasm such as his flourishes in adversity; and the more fiercely the tempest beat against him, so much the more he experienced the strength of that Rock upon which he stood. The love of Christ constrained him to labour in His service, the faith of immortality sustained him in the conflict.

Scotland was not left without preachers. The year after the departure of Knox, John Douglas, a con-

verted Carmelite friar, chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, preached in private, and at court openly rebuked the superstitions of the times, while Paul Methven, originally a tradesman, taught in Dundee, and others in Angus and Mearns. The clergy, in alarm, persuaded the Regent to summon the preachers to answer for their conduct. They obeyed, accompanied by many influential members of their congregations, who determined to stand by them and protect them; the Queen, dreading a tumult, commanded them to return for fifteen days to the Borders.

Guessing the reason for this order, Chalmers of Cartgirth replied—"We know, madam, that this is the desire of the bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God it shall not go so. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves; they trouble our ministers, and seek to undo them and us all. We will not suffer it any longer." As he spoke, the barons, with an air of defiance, put on their "steel bonnets," and the Regent, thoroughly frightened, declared she intended no violence to the preachers; she even revoked the proclamation, and promised to be herself judge of the controversy.

Knox had not been a year in Geneva when the leaders of the Reformed party, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Lorn, son of the Earl of Argyle, Erskine of Dun, and the Prior of St Andrews, Lord James Stuart, invited him to return to Scotland. They told him that "the faithful of his acquaintance were steadfast to the belief in which he left them, that they



thirsted for his presence, and were ready to jeopard their lives for the glory of God." "Little cruelty," they said, "had been used against them; the influence of the friars was decreasing, and they had good hopes that God would augment His flock."

Knox laid this letter before the Geneva pastors and his own congregation for advice. Their united opinion was, that "he could not refuse the call without showing himself rebellious to God and unmerciful to his country." He therefore resigned his charge at Geneva into the hands of William Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, and started for home. But, arriving at Dieppe, very different information met him, and, convinced that as yet there was neither union nor resolution among the Protestants, he returned to Geneva towards the close of 1557. On his way, he turned aside to preach at Rochelle, and in his sermon said he hoped shortly to stand in the pulpit of St Giles' in Edinburgh. It appears that his visit to Dieppe bore fruit to the glory of God, and before he left it he preached to a Protestant congregation in the town.

To us it seems strange that Knox should have hesitated to return to Scotland at this time, seeing that the invitation to do so was not withdrawn. His disappointment was great, and he "knew not what to say" to those who asked him why he had stopped at Dieppe—"What are the sobs and what is the affliction of my troubled heart," he said, writing home, "God shall one day declare." This letter was ac-

accompanied by an address to the nobility, in reply to a letter from them, asking advice as to the lawfulness of resisting "the powers that be." They had, they said, many grievances—Mary of Guise governed as Regent, under the influence of her brothers, and the Catholic faction had received new life and vigour.

Knox knew exactly how matters were, and that there was no need for him to inflame their minds by condemning the government under which they groaned. Even an expression of sympathy might add fuel to the flame. So he rather turned their thoughts to themselves than to their oppressors,—told them that a rumour was abroad that Scotland was meditating rebellion, and solemnly warned all professors of the Gospel to beware of revolting against the government. Not that he had changed his mind as to the lawfulness of "inferior magistrates and the body of a nation resisting the tyrannical measures of supreme rulers." The difference between lawful obedience and a fearful flattering of princes was, he said, "great." But while he acknowledged that "the nobility were hereditary guardians of the national liberties," and that there were "limits beyond which obedience was not due by subjects," he solemnly declared that "recourse ought not to be had to resistance except when matters were tyrannically driven to an extreme." And above all in the realm, he said, the Reformed party were bound to give no occasion to their adversaries to speak reproachfully, as any inconsistency on their part would bring dishonour upon the cause they desired to

serve. Therefore, his advice was, to obey cheerfully the lawful commands of the Regent, and thus try to win her protection, while, at the same time, the nobles should remember that it was their duty to see that the Gospel was faithfully preached and the sacraments duly administered to themselves and their brethren; and if the Regent neglected this matter, they should take it up at all hazards. Moreover, he did not think they were called upon "to see their innocent brethren murdered," but rather bound "to stand up in their defence."

This address, combined with private letters to Erskine of Dun and Wishart of Pitarrow, produced a wonderful effect. The nobles acknowledged and deplored their want of faith, their cowardly attempt to hide their light under a bushel; and, animated with a holy zeal, determined more earnestly than ever, to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.

And now was formed the first of those religious bonds or covenants by which the union among Scottish Protestants has been so frequently ratified,—in which, sinking minor differences, the one name, Protestant, common to all, pledged them to renounce Popery, and to stand by each other in the struggle, even as in ancient times, Achaians, Dorians, and other tribes of Greece forgot their individuality, and united in the common bond of Grecian brotherhood to celebrate their national games.

It was on the 3d of December 1557 that this memorable bond was drawn up at Edinburgh by the leading

Protestants—the Earls of Glencairn, Argyle, and Morton, Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and many others. It was nothing short of a declaration of war against the Romish religion, and denounced vengeance against all its “superstition, idolatry, and abominations.” At the same time, it pledged the Protestants to “set forward and establish, with their whole power and substance, God’s blessed Word; to labour to have faithful ministers; and to defend them, at the peril of their lives and goods, against all tyranny.”

In the beginning of 1558 Knox returned to Geneva, and there published his extraordinary work, “The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.” That trumpet gave no “uncertain sound,” but boldly declared that “to promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrary to His revealed will and approved ordinance, and, finally, a subversion of all equity and justice.” In Knox’s opinion, all—except the few who are, “by singular privilege, and for certain causes, exempted from the common rank of women”—are manifestly intended for “subjection, not superiority.” Who the few are, how they are to be discovered, he does not say. But in uttering a sentiment, of the truth of which he was deeply convinced, he wisely determined to “cover his eyes and shut his ears,” full sure that not only woman-kind in general, but all “gentle spirits” would rise in arms against him as “envious, spiteful, a sower of

sedition," and perchance one day "attaint him for treason."

The enormities of Mary Tudor's reign first suggested the blowing of this "Trumpet," which brought Knox into great disgrace both with Elizabeth and her beautiful and unfortunate rival, Mary, Queen of Scots. The storm of abuse which he expected soon arose, and the more vehemently, as Queen Mary died soon after the book was published. And, although English exiles willingly subscribed to its contents while suffering from her cruelty, they were not prepared to admit them when Elizabeth, in whom all their hopes centred, ascended the throne. Knox could not recall his words—the government of Mary had been odious to him, and "chafed his imagination into the belief that a female sovereign was a monster forbidden by the laws of God." Had he lived in happier days he would have shouted "Long live the Queen" as heartily as the most loyal amongst us; though it is true, that when Fox wrote to him complaining of the severity of his language, Knox, while he acknowledged its "undue vehemency," maintained the principle it set forth.

"A Harbour for Faithful and True Subjects against the Late Blown Blast" soon appeared. Though published anonymously, it was well known that the author was John Aylmer, one of the English refugees, who had been archdeacon of Stowe, and tutor to Lady Jane Grey. Having consulted his brethren in exile, he wrote this reply, "the better to obtain the favour of

the new Queen, and take off any jealousy she might conceive of them, and the religion which they professed."

If, indeed, the author of the "Blast" had, in his remarks, "confined himself to the Queen who filled the throne when he wrote," Aylmer confesses that "he could have said nothing too much," for she was most "unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, and unlawful." But he had "swerved from the particular question to the general," and thus overshot the mark. Aiming to please Elizabeth and flatter her vanity, Aylmer argues that the apostle's injunction that women be not suffered to teach, was, no doubt, "peculiarly applicable to the women of his own time." "Methinks," he says, "even in this point we must use a certain moderation, not absolutely and in every wise to debar them herein (as it shall please God) to serve Christ. Are there not women in England, women, think you," he asks, "that, for their learning and wisdom, could tell their households and neighbours as good a tale as the best Sir John there? being wiser, better learned, discreeter, more constant than a number of men."

And yet Elizabeth might well exclaim, "Defend me from my friends," when, side by side with these flattering words concerning "some women," she read Aylmer's description of the "most part," who are, he says, "foolish, fond, tattlers, trifling, wavering, without counsel, feeble, careless, rash, proud, dainty, nice, tale-bearers, rumour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded."

Leaving Elizabeth to choose between the "Blast" and the "Harbour,"—the expression of bold, disinterested honesty, and that of a calculating, time-serving spirit,—we return to see the effect which Knox's letter produced upon the Scottish nobility. Not long after the Lords signed their names to the Covenant, they passed a resolution, declaring "that in all parishes of the realm, the Common Prayer (the service-book of Edward VI.) should be read weekly, on Sunday and other festival days, in the parish churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conformable to the Book of Common Prayer; and that, if the curates of parishes be qualified, they shall be caused to read the same; but if they refuse, then the most qualified in the parish" were to read them. It was also resolved that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture be used privately in quiet houses, avoiding great conventions of the people thereto, until such time as God should move the prince to grant public preaching by true and faithful ministers."

These resolutions were immediately put in force, and the Lords again invited Knox to come and head their efforts. He received their letters in November 1558, and cheered by their report of the progress of the Reformation, and the protection which the Queen-Regent, from political motives, afforded them, he at once prepared to return home.

But while these letters were on their way, the cruel zeal of the Archbishop of St Andrews, which had



been slumbering, awoke in all its fury, and in condemning Walter Milne, an old man of fourscore years and more, to the flames, roused the indignation of the country to the highest pitch of excitement. So detestable was this act, that not one secular judge in Scotland could be found to pass sentence upon the old man. Having begun the work, the clergy were left to finish it, by the hands of a worthless servant of the Archbishop. On the 28th of August, Walter Milne, his gray hair streaming in the wind, stood by the stake, and uttered these prophetic words—"I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature ; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones, and I trust God I am the last that shall suffer death for this cause." He *was* the last who thus suffered by the cruel hand of Rome in Scotland.

The Queen-Regent being applied to for protection against the violence of the clergy, promised toleration, but, after some months passed in dissimulation, she tore off the mask, and declared her resolve to crush the Reformation by open force. To this she was led by her brothers, the Princes of Lorraine,—the most ambitious of men, and most bigoted of Papists,—who had formed a conspiracy to dethrone Elizabeth, and regain England and Scotland for Rome. Under their influence, Henry II. had, upon the death of Mary Tudor, persuaded his son and daughter-in-law, Francis and Mary, to assume the title of King and Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

They thus styled themselves in public papers, and engraved the arms of England on their seals and plate.

To support this claim was a hazardous matter. Elizabeth was on the throne, and likely to remain there. In perplexity, the Guises turned their eyes towards Scotland as the only avenue open for an attack upon England; and by using the name and pretensions of the Scottish Queen, they hoped to induce the Romish party in England to rally in defence of their religion. The Scottish Protestants would, of course, not aid to dethrone a queen who defended their faith; but persecution might break their spirit, and render them powerless to oppose. To crush the Reformation by fire and sword was therefore decided on: the Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stuart, and other leaders of the party were marked for immediate destruction.

Instructions to this effect were sent from France to the Regent, accompanied by a promise of troops, to enable her to carry them out.

Mary of Guise, though passionately devoted to her brothers and to the interests of France, remonstrated against these orders. She had lived long enough in Scotland to know that it was easy to rouse, not so easy to calm, the spirit of her nobility. That the Protestant party (now known by the name of the Congregation) was not a miserable faction, but numbered in its ranks some of the highest and best in the land, she knew. Hitherto, the efforts made to

subdue them had only revealed their strength. They had stood firm amidst the desertion of friends, the triumphant joy of enemies, the torments of martyrdom. Was it not dangerous to exasperate such men? The attempt would probably leave them more firmly rooted in their faith, while it shook to its foundations the Church which they had left.

Thus Mary reasoned, but her words were as the raving of the wind to her brothers. They commanded, and she obeyed.

This change in the Regent's policy was openly declared in a convention of the clergy which assembled at Edinburgh, (March 1559.) In addition to former demands, the Lords of the Congregation now insisted that bishops should be elected with consent of the leading men of the diocese, and parish priests by the votes of the parishioners. The synod gave a decided refusal, and further declared that the Latin language alone should be used in the public prayers of the Church, as any other "would violate its express decrees, and offend the majesty of God." At the same time the Queen published a proclamation, requiring all persons to attend mass and confession daily; and in a private interview with some of the Protestant leaders, she showed them the instructions she had received from France, warned them of the danger of resisting her authority, and concluded by commanding the most obnoxious amongst the Reformed ministers to appear before a Parliament to be held at Stirling on the 10th of May; there to defend

themselves from the accusations to be brought against them.

Alarmed at these proceedings, and encouraged by the revolution in England, the Lords appointed two of their number—the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr—to ask an audience of the Queen, remind her of former promises, and expostulate with her concerning her change of policy. In the true spirit of the Jesuit, she replied, that “the promises of princes ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suited their own convenience.” Stung by these words, the nobles warned her, that if the country rose in rebellion, the sin should not be laid to their charge, but at the door of those “cruel oppressors and blood-thirsty tyrants, the bishops.” “If that is the style in which I am to be addressed,” retorted the Queen, “I will drive every minister from Scotland, though they preached as soundly as ever did St Paul.”

Day by day the R<sup>è</sup>gent grew more peremptory, the Protestants more uneasy. The French troops might be expected any moment. The nobles met and consulted—met again, but knew not what to do. The people, having spent their whole stock of patience, threw off restraint. Perth led the way, demanding the Gospel and Edward VI.’s Prayer-Book. The Queen commanded Lord Ruthven, the provost, to suppress the heresy. He replied that he could bring the bodies of the citizens to her Grace, and compel them to bow before her, till she was satiated with

their blood; but over their consciences he had no power. Enraged at this "malapert" reply, she commanded Dundee, Montrose, and all other places which had embraced the Protestant faith, to prepare to receive the sacrament of the mass at Easter; and again summoned the preachers to answer for their conduct, at Stirling.

Harlow, Douglas, and Willock, who had lately returned from Embden, were amongst the proscribed preachers. This second return of Willock to his native land had given renewed energy to the Reformation. "The images," says Knox, "were stolen away in all parts of the country; and in Edinburgh, that great idol called St Giles was first drowned in the North Loch, and afterwards burned, which raised no small trouble in the town." Nevertheless, nothing daunted, the Regent and bishops, determined that the usual procession should take place on the saint's day, got a new idol from the grey friars. Placing the image on a wooden barrow, which was carried on men's shoulders, the procession, headed by the Regent, and attended by tabours and trumpets, proceeded down the High Street to the cross. There it encountered a party of Protestants, who no sooner saw the idol reared aloft, than they determined to level it with the ground. Pretending to assist those who carried it, they jerked the barrow, and in a moment the image was dashed to pieces on the pavement; "and then," says Knox, "the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleugh; down goeth the crosses, off goeth

the surplices, round caps and cornets with the crowns. The grey friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first gat the house; for such a sudden fray came never amongst the generation of Antichrist within this realm before." But to return.

The leaders of the Congregation resolved to accompany the preachers to Stirling, for which purpose the principal barons of Angus and Mearns went to Perth. Totally unarmed, they came, they said, "as peaceable men, to stand by and assist their ministers in their defence." Seeing them thus defended by five or six thousand men, the Regent refused to receive them.

What of Knox all this time? He left Geneva in January 1559, and arrived in Scotland on the 3d of May. He intended to come through England, wishing to visit his old friends there, but the first blast of his "Trumpet" had so offended Elizabeth, that she refused to allow him to set his foot within her dominions. In vain he wrote to Cecil to remonstrate. Elizabeth was inexorable. "England hath refused me," he complained, writing from Dieppe; "and yet have I been a secret and assured friend to thee, O England, in cases which thyself could not have remedied."

Passing through France, Knox had learned details of the intended conspiracy to dethrone Elizabeth, and, faithful friend as he was, his desire to enter England was partly that he might see Cecil, and speak with him upon "matters which it would be for the ad-

vantage of the kingdom he should know." Three times he urged his request, and was denied. So he sailed direct for Scotland, and landed at Leith. "The ship in which Knox crossed," says Mr Froude, "carried a seal to the Regent, engraved with the arms of England, and carried with it also, in himself, the person who, above all others, baffled the conspiracy, and saved Elizabeth and the Reformation."



## CHAPTER VIII.

Knox the Standard-Bearer—Starts for Stirling to be present with the Proscribed Preachers—Preaches at Perth—Consequent Disturbances—The Regent and the Congregation—The Western Leaders come to the Rescue—The Regent accepts Terms, but proves Unfaithful—Knox preaches, and thus strengthens the Reformed Party—Preaches at St Andrews—He enters Edinburgh with the Troops—Scotland seeks Aid from England—Elizabeth and the Earl of Arran—Death of Henry II. of France, and its Consequences—Elizabeth wearies the Scots by her Indecision—The Protestants driven from Edinburgh—Cecil writes to the Lords—Elizabeth's Duplicity—Sadler and Knox—Arran arrives in England.

“When the tale of bricks is doubled, then Moses is sent.”\*

At the moment when the Reformation seemed on the point of ruin—the enemy triumphant, the true-hearted dispirited—the cry, “John Knox is come,” “stirred the land, as with the inspiration of some new element, and the hearts of the persecutors were withered.”

For the news which greeted his arrival—the change in the Regent's policy, her summons to the preachers—Knox was prepared. Still an outlaw, he spent two nights in Edinburgh, and then “uncertain as yet what God would have him do;” but seeing “Satan

\* Jewish proverb.

raging, even unto the uttermost," he hastened on to Perth, to be present with his brethren ; " by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify God's holy name," and asked the prayers of his friends, that he might not faint, " even in the brunt of the battle."

Arriving at Perth, he found the summons withdrawn, the preachers outlawed, and the Master of Maxwell imprisoned for taking their part. The following day, May 11, he preached, and spared neither the mass nor image-worship. All was quiet, the congregation had dispersed, except a few " godly men," when a priest came in, and, uncovering the altar, prepared to celebrate mass. A boy standing by said something insolent, the priest struck him, and the boy, picking up a stone, returned the blow, which, missing the priest, broke one of the images. The bystanders took part with the boy, and in a moment altar and images lay prostrate on the ground. Hearing the noise, a crowd gathered, and, seeing that nothing remained to be destroyed in the church, they rushed to the monastery of the grey friars, and demolished it. " The poor monks were sent adrift upon the world, and their homes went up in smoke and flame into the sky." The Charterhouse, or Carthusian Monastery, the burial-place of the first of the Stuart kings, shared the same fate ; neither the entreaties of the preachers nor the commands of the magistrates could calm the excitement. " It was the work of the rascal multitude," said Knox, " who cared nothing for religion." But the

Queen and her cause were served by the tumult, as it turned public indignation from her, and directed it against the Protestants, whose preaching she represented as the cause of all the violence.

Collecting what forces she could, the Queen marched towards Perth, "determined," she said, "to raze it to the ground, and sow it with salt, as a monument of perpetual desolation." Chatelherault, Athole, and D'Oysel, the French commander, accompanied her, also Lord James and the Earl of Argyle. The Protestant lords saw the storm gathering, and prepared to meet it. But first they wrote to the Regent, disclaiming all rebellious intentions. They would gladly have suppressed the late riots. All they now asked was liberty of conscience, and the reformation of religion. Upon these points they insisted, resolved not to suffer the tumult to be made a pretext for enforcing the sentence of outlawry against the preachers. The Queen-Regent, confident of victory, rejected all proposals of negotiation, and the lords buckled on their armour.

Just then young Glencairn rode in from the west, exclaiming, "Others may do as they will; I will join my brethren, though I go alone, with a pike on my shoulder." Boyd and Ochiltree followed, and soon "all Glasgow, Kyle, and Cunningham were up in arms. Fife followed, and Angus and Dundee, and over all hills and all by-paths, north, south, east, and west, the steel bonnets came streaming in to the rescue of the preachers."

The sight of two thousand five hundred men, well armed, and animated by one heart, was too much for the Queen; the reinforcements, too, from France had not arrived, and prudence suggested that terms of accommodation should be proposed. On the 24th of May she sent Argyle and Lord James to negotiate. The terms were not such as could be accepted, and Knox desired the ambassadors to return, and tell the Queen, that if she desired peace, she must repent of her sins, and give up persecution. At the same time he reminded Argyle and Lord James that, by remaining with the Regent, they appeared to countenance her policy for the overthrow of the Reformation, and thus violated the covenant which, as members of the Congregation, united them to their Protestant brethren in the strictest bonds. The remonstrance was well received.

When Argyle delivered his message, he gave the Queen some insight into the condition of the Protestants—their strength, their united resolution to “fight for Christ and the Gospel, sword in hand.” For himself, he said he would support the Queen if she granted some concessions, which he named—not otherwise. Both armies were to disperse, the gates of Perth to be thrown open to the Queen. No person was to be brought into trouble for the late changes in religion, and abolishing of idolatry. The Reformation was to go forward. No Frenchman was to approach within three miles of the town, and, above all, Perth should not be required to receive a French

garrison. Finally, all matters of controversy were to be reserved for the meeting of Parliament. To all this the Queen assented.

The Protestants readily accepted the treaty, saying, "Cursed be they that seek effusion of blood, war, or dissension. Let us possess Christ's Gospel, and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall be." Knox distrusted the Queen; Argyle and Lord James went security for her good faith. "If, however, she proved false to her word, they called God to witness that they would desert her and join the Western leaders."

Knox was satisfied, and from the pulpit exhorted his brethren to constancy and thankfulness. God had, he said, in great mercy, prevented the effusion of blood, but he was well assured the Queen "meant no truth;" it therefore "became no brother to be weary or faint, since he was certain the treaty would only be kept till the Regent and her Frenchmen felt strong enough to break it." On the 29th of May the Protestants left Perth; the Regent entered the town, and broke every article of the treaty,—fined some of the inhabitants, banished others, introduced French troops into the city, and, when departing for Stirling, left orders that the Romish worship alone should be permitted within the walls of Perth. The Earl of Argyle and Lord James kept their promise, and left the Regent, and, accompanied by Lord Ruthven, and others of the nobles, rode off to St Andrews, the

rallying-point of the Congregation, desiring Knox to meet them there on a given day.

French troops now augmented the Regent's forces, and, leaving Stirling, she pressed on to Falkland. But the Congregation had the start of her. From all parts of the country crowds flocked to their standard, and before they reached Falkland their forces outnumbered the Queen's. On the 4th of June the Lords met at St Andrews. The Archbishop thinking them but a handful, dashed after them with two hundred men. But he was late, the town was strongly guarded, and he fled for his life, leaving this message for Knox—if he dared to preach from his pulpit, “a dozen bullets should light upon his nose.”

Meanwhile Knox, travelling along the coast of Fife, preached at Anstruther and Crail, and on the 9th of June reached St Andrews. It was Saturday night. Would he preach the following day? The Lords met to consult, and decided that he should keep silent, and not run the risk of endangering his own life and that of those who would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence. But Knox was not the man to give way, and, fired with many a recollection connected with St Andrews,—the place in which God had first called him to preach the Gospel,—from which he had been “reft” by French tyranny, at the instigation of the “pestilent prelates,” the Scottish bishops; remembering, too, his own words, uttered ten years before, when, faint and weary in the French galley, he prophesied that he would preach

yet again within those walls,—his spirit rose, and he declared that to preach next day he was determined. “As for the fear of danger that may come to me,” he said, “let no man be anxious; for my life is in the hands of Him whose glory I seek; I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me, I only crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have it.”

On the 13th the Regent advanced from Falkland to Cowper Muir, with D'Oysel and Chatelherault, sure of an easy victory. But the Protestants flocked in so rapidly, that, as Knox says, “men seemed to rain from the clouds.” They had experienced officers, too, while division reigned in the camp of the Regent. The Huguenots had not received their pay, and called for food or dismissal; the Queen had no money, and the men were driven to plunder; D'Oysel advised a truce, the terrified Queen consented, and engaged to remove her troops out of Fife, and send commissioners to settle matters with the Congregation. But this was only to gain time: faithless again, though the troops were dispersed, the commissioners did not appear, and the Lords hearing that she intended to seize Stirling, and to cut off their communication with the Protestants in the south, dashed on to Perth, turned out the garrison, then passed on to Stirling, and so on to Edinburgh, and made themselves masters of the town. The usual destruction of abbeys and monasteries followed, and in the course of a few weeks



scarcely a remnant of Romish superstition remained throughout the Lowlands.

“The manner of proceeding is this,” Kirkaldy wrote to Sir Henry Percy—“they pulled down all manner of friars’ houses and some abbeys which willingly receive not the Reformation ; as to parish churches, they cleanse them of images, and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them : in place thereof, the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the Kirk ; but presently they will take orders through all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept, and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as other orders be taken. Some suppose the Queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desire ; which is, that a general Reformation be made throughout the realm, conform to the pure Word of God, and the Frenchmen sent away. If her Grace will do so, they will obey and serve her, and annex the whole revenue of the abbeys to the Crown. If her Grace will not be content, they will hear of no agreement.” But in the midst of this destructive work, the Lords of the Congregation so restrained the zeal of the populace that not a single member of the Roman Catholic party suffered death.

Knox was with the forces of the Congregation at Cowper Muir and at Perth, and entered Edinburgh with them in the end of June. On July the 10th he

was appointed minister of the Tolbooth: that very day he preached at St Giles', and the following in the Abbey church.

The idea hinted at in Kirkaldy's letter—that the Queen-Regent might allow "a general Reformation throughout the realm," might be believed by those who trusted her fair promises; but it daily became more evident to Knox, who had been behind the scenes, and to the Lords of the Congregation, that nothing was further from her intention, and that without foreign aid the struggle could not be maintained much longer. Henry II., at peace with the rest of Europe, had it in his power (and who could doubt his willingness?) to take arms, to quell the revolution in his daughter-in-law's kingdom. How could the Protestant party in Scotland stand against the whole power of France? Even as it was, of the forces at the command of the Regent, but five hundred out of three thousand were Scots. The case called for immediate, careful consideration.

Queen Elizabeth was very untractable upon the subject of marriage. As prince after prince was mentioned as one suited to be her husband, she was certain to refuse him. "She has vowed never to marry a man that she has not seen—that she will not trust painters," wrote De Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, to Philip, and thus she refused Ferdinand of Austria; neither would she have "a man who would sit all day by the fireside, but one who could ride, hunt, and fight," and so she refused the Archduke

Charles. But whatever she did, she declared, if she married, she would "take a husband who should make the king of France's head ache," and upon this declaration the Protestants in Scotland placed their hopes, convinced that in the young Earl of Arran all the Queen's requisites were combined. "If their imaginations hold," Sir James Crofts, governor of Berwick, wrote to Sir Henry Percy, "they mean to mention a marriage—you know where."

The union between Elizabeth and Arran was no new idea—Henry VIII. had thought of it. Wishing to unite England and Scotland in the closest bonds, he selected Mary Stuart for his son Edward, and the next heir to the throne, the Earl of Arran, for his daughter Elizabeth. At this time Arran was four-and-twenty, Elizabeth, two years older. His talents, whatever they were, had not been developed; but he was considered an earnest Protestant; and owing to his influence, his father, the late Regent, had returned to the Reformed faith. Being detained in France on his Chatelherault estates, as security for his father's loyalty, he was regarded as a dangerous neighbour when the insurrection broke out in Scotland, and immediately an order went forth from Paris to bring him "quick or dead" to the court. He fled in time to save his life, escaped to the woods of Poitou, and after hiding there for a fortnight, got safe to Geneva, much to the consternation of his cousin, the Dauphiness, who declared that "no better service could be done her than to

use Arran as a traitor by whomsoever he should be met." Arran, then, was at Geneva when the Protestant party set their hearts upon him as Elizabeth's husband. How to get him to London was the difficulty—a serious one—and before running the risk, as the French, Austrians, and Spaniards were all on the watch to catch him, it was well to sound Elizabeth upon the subject. Cecil undertook this, not that he ever named Arran; but his allusions were understood, and he felt satisfied that her mind leaned that way. He therefore chose Henry Killigrew, as the "fittest person to be trusted with so difficult an enterprise," and sent him off with instructions "to take shipping at Embden, in Friesland, rather than at Antwerp," as "more safe," and bring Arran to England.

To obtain help from England had been the hope of Knox ever since his return home. In June, he persuaded William Kirkaldy to write to, and afterwards visit, Sir Henry Percy upon the subject. Percy wrote to Cecil, who encouraged the correspondence, and then Knox wrote himself to Cecil, and at the same time sent an apology to Elizabeth for the rudeness of his "Blast" against female government, and expressed his warm attachment to her person, and deep distress at having offended her. He declared that he had long desired "a perpetual concord between England and Scotland, as the happiest prospect for both realms; that the occasion was present, if the Queen would embrace" it; and begged the favour of an interview with her majesty.

It is uncertain whether Elizabeth ever saw this letter ; but Cecil informed Kirkaldy, through Sir Henry Percy, that he had imparted the matter of his communication "in such secret manner, and to such parties as was behoving; and that they had good liking thereof:" further information, however, was required by those "parties," which being sent, the Queen promised to help the Scots. Just then the news that the Earl of Arran had sailed for England arrived, and at the same time "certain intelligence" reached Cecil that the French forces were coming; but "let not the Scots be cast down," he said; "for England neither might nor would see their ruin." Elizabeth must have sanctioned those words, and these too—"In any wise," said Cecil, "kindle the fire; for if it should quench, the opportunity thereof will not arrive in our lives; and that which the Protestants mean to do should be done with all speed; for it will be too late when the French force cometh." As matters were progressing smoothly, the Lords addressed Elizabeth themselves. The "wisest and best men in Scotland," they said, had long desired the union of the realms, which union could now be most happily accomplished; and they trusted such a golden opportunity might not be lost. They themselves had long fought against "idolatry"—against "those beasts," that sort of men "who had been friends to France, enemies to England." For the sake of all they held dear in this life and the next, they implored the Queen to stand by them, promising not to deny

“any conditions” her majesty might “reasonably” require. Argyle, Glencairn, Ruthven, Lord James Boyd, and Ochiltree, signed the address, which was accompanied by a letter to Cecil, in which they reiterated their desire to advance the Gospel, put down the tyranny of the clergy, and defend the liberties of Scotland. For “the joyful junction of the realms” they declared “they would never cease to pray.”

Meanwhile Philip of Spain married the daughter of Henry II. of France. In honour of the event a grand tournament took place. The arms of England emblazoned over the throne, the galleries, and on the dress of the heralds, gave notice that the Queen of Scots’ pretensions to the throne of England were recognised and would be supported by France. But a lance from his opponent pierced Henry’s forehead, and he fell—a splinter had reached the brain, and he died in ten days. Francis II. and the young Queen of Scots ascended the throne. Francis had neither talent nor experience, while Mary Stuart, though but nineteen, was full of energy. “She and her uncles rule all Paris,” said Throgmorton a week after the King’s death; while De Quadra wrote to Philip, saying, “The present King will go forward with the enterprise more eagerly than his father; the army for Scotland is ready.”

Elizabeth is still unmarried; all the arts of the emperor could not induce her to take “Charles large-head,” he who “sat all day by the fire.” She had not yet seen Arran, and was not certain she

should like him. She did not know how ardently the Scots desired that marriage, nor did she trust them sufficiently to make their wishes weigh one grain with her, contrary to her own inclination.

The old Scotch habit of looking to France for protection against England had not been conquered, and Elizabeth thought it just possible that, were she warmly to espouse their cause, she might find herself left to face the wrath of Europe alone. She therefore determined to "look before she leaped." Some of the Protestant leaders, too, were unwilling to declare themselves. The Regent owed money to Kirkaldy, and he would rather have it safe in his pocket before he incurred her displeasure. The mass of the people were poor, and "necessity might force them to break off when all they have is spent:" so wrote Sir James Crofts to Cecil. All these pros and cons told heavily against help from Elizabeth; and just at that moment, when she was out of humour with every one, she got a letter from Knox—a letter just like himself, honest and straightforward. Once more he apologised for his book, but in his own style, saying, "It did not touch her, unless she deserved it." He accused her plainly of declining from Christ Jesus in the day of battle; "and yet God," he said, "had preserved her when most unthankful, and had raised her up to be a comfort to His Kirk." "Interpret my rude words," he added, "as written by him who is no enemy to your Grace. By divers letters I have required leave to visit your realm, not to seek



myself, neither yet my own ease or commodity ; which if you now refuse or deny, I must remit myself unto God, adding this for conclusion : that such as refuse the counsels of the faithful, appear it never so sharp, are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers to their own perdition."

Elizabeth received this letter at an unfortunate moment. She had distrusted the constancy of the Scotch, though never so vehemently proclaimed ; but she was not prepared for the news which now reached her,—that the Protestants had retired from Edinburgh, with only their lives and promises of "no persecution" in future. But so it was. D'Oysel, with his handful of half-starved Frenchmen, after holding Dunbar for three weeks in the face of ten times their number, had, on the 23d of July, taken Leith. But that was not all. Erskine, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, had declared for the Queen, threatening to fire upon the Congregation if they declined to come to terms. Not liking the alternative, the Protestants accepted the proposed conditions, "to destroy no more churches or monasteries till the next Parliament; to evacuate Edinburgh, and leave Holyrood for the Queen," while they themselves were allowed to depart with a promise of toleration for their religion, and pardon for their rebellion. It was said that the Queen-Regent promised to send away the French troops ; but if she did, the matter went no further, and the Protestants were too weak to urge that which alone would have secured their

safety. The treaty was signed in July, Chatelherault and Huntly being securities for the Queen. Seeing their cause desperate, the Protestants renewed their covenant to hold fast by each other in defence of their faith. Some of them then went to the western Highlands, some to Fife.

Lord James and Argyle tried to explain to Elizabeth the cause of these disasters; but it was no easy matter, and Knox went to Berwick to talk to the governor. "How can Elizabeth trust men without a leader?" asked Crofts. "Then elect one," replied Knox. "There was Lord Arran," he said; "and if he failed to please, there was Lord James Stuart." They would elect "any man her highness thought fit." But if the Protestants could not have present support, they would not trifle; they would seek the next remedy to preserve their own bodies—not that they would go over to France, but they would give up the struggle, leave the country to the enemy, and the English might make their account of what would ensue towards themselves.

That Scottish heads and Scottish hearts were not equal to their work became every day more evident. Cecil knew it, Knox knew it, all the sober-minded who were not deceived by high-sounding words knew it. Cecil wrote to the Lords of the Congregation a letter of wise counsel. He wondered why the Scotch should look to England for help, while they left their harbours defenceless. His plan was to help those who helped themselves, not those who folded their

hands, and asked others to work for them. He could inform them that three thousand French were at their very door, and that to go to war with France was "a serious thing." Before he wrote this letter, he had talked it over with Elizabeth, and knew her mind. The greatest happiness for Scotland, he said, was either to be "at perpetual peace with England," or to be made one monarchy with England, as they two should make "but one isle." He did not think it unreasonable for them to demand a reformation in Church and State, which if their Queen refused, then "was it apparent that Almighty God was pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom; and then Scotland might consider what means could be devised to accord the two realms." Cecil then, as was his way, weighed the arguments for and against the interference of England to expel the French troops. The war, he said, would be expensive, and the French and Scotch might, after all, make peace together—these, with various other considerations, were against it. But then "all persons, public and private, might use the same manner of *defence* as the adversary used in *offence*;" and as the Queen of England "claimed feudal sovereignty over the Scots, and was legally entitled to protect them," there was no reason for her not interfering, if she chose to do so. Cecil was therefore in favour of help being given—at least, in money.

The French ambassador, Noailles, hearing of this correspondence, complained to Elizabeth, who at

once wrote to the Queen-Regent, her "dear sister and ally," assuring her that she had no connexion whatever with the rebels, and would find out and punish those who had of "their own accord, and regardless of her displeasure, sought to meddle with any such people."

The day after this letter was written, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Berwick with £3000, to be distributed among "the rebels," as he saw best. His instructions were, to "treat, in all secrecy, with any manner of persons in Scotland for the union of the realms;" "to foment, as his principal scope," the discord between France and Scotland, "so as the French might be the better occupied with them, and the less with England."

Through Sadler and Sir James Crofts, all correspondence between the court of London and the leaders of the Congregation was carried on, until the English troops entered Scotland. Sadler sometimes corresponded directly with the principal leaders themselves, but more frequently with their agents, who, besides Knox, were Balnaves of Halhill, Thomas Randolph, and Alexander Whitlaw, who had lately returned from France, being recommended to Cecil by Throgmorton as "a very sober, honest, godly man." "Let him see as little sin in England as you may," he adds. "He is greatly esteemed by John Knox, and the doctor does favour him above others; nevertheless, he is sorry for his book rashly written."

Sadler found no small difficulty in following out his instructions, both on account of the vigilance of the Regent, and the imprudent conduct of those with whom he had to correspond. In particular, he complained more than once of the fiery impatience of Knox, and was obliged to expostulate with him for urging measures, the adoption of which, Sadler thought would have ruined the cause. Cecil complimented him for "taming Knox's audacity;" and added, that he was obliged often to suppress his letters, as he found they did more harm than good.

A day or two before Sadler received his despatches, (the end of July,) the Earl of Arran arrived in England. The news spread like wildfire, raising some hopes, crushing others. "The Earl of Arran is in England," wrote De Quadra to Philip. "Cecil is gone secretly to Greenwich to see him, and we shall soon hear news. The Queen would not have received him here, with the certainty that she was giving mortal offence to the French, if it were not a settled thing that the earl was to be more than a guest."

Elizabeth met Arran first at Cecil's house, afterwards at Hampton Court. On her part, at least, it was not a case of love at first sight; she at once decided he would not do.

Matters did not improve among the Protestants. A want of energy and self-reliance, and impatience at Elizabeth's delay in giving help, characterised all their efforts, which ended in nothing. On the other hand Mary was trying, by flattery, bribery, and threats,

to bring the Lords back to their allegiance. She would, it was said, "spend the crown of France" rather than give up Scotland; and Knox, knowing the fickleness of his country, told Cecil that he "would not answer for what they might do, if England continued to hold back."

Knox engaged in these political matters from a sense of duty; they were not service in which his soul delighted, and right glad he was when the arrival of Maitland relieved him from the burden. The estimation in which his character stood for uprightness of conduct is evidenced by Cecil's direction, that in the management of the English subsidy he should be one of those appointed to see that the money was not applied to "any private use." To balance this, the hatred of the Queen-Regent and the Papists grew more deadly; a reward was offered to any one who would kill him. But should such a man as Knox flee? No; he still appeared in public, and travelled about wherever duty called him, happy in the conviction that every man is immortal until his work is done, and joyfully anticipating the "rest" which "remaineth."

## CHAPTER IX.

Knox Preaches in various parts of Scotland—The French Ambassador and Elizabeth—Elizabeth covertly Encourages the Lords—The Queen-Regent Deposed—The Siege of Leith—French Troops expected from France—Elizabeth openly Assists the Scots—Want of Energy in the Scots causes Failure—Edinburgh is Abandoned—The Troops march to Stirling—Knox Preaches, and revives their spirits—Maitland and Balnaves sent to London—The question of giving Help discussed by Cecil—He sends in his Resignation to Elizabeth—The Queen promises Help by Sea and Land—The Siege renewed with vigour—Disasters owing to the inertness of the Scots—Elizabeth sends further Help in Money—Leith is on Fire—The town Assaulted—The attempt Fails—An Armistice follows, and a Pic-nic on the Sands of Leith—Death of the Queen-Regent—Treaty of Edinburgh.

WHEN the Protestants were driven out of Edinburgh, the Lords took Knox with them, notwithstanding his earnest entreaty to be left behind, lest his life should be thereby sacrificed. Willock, who was less obnoxious, took his place at the Tolbooth, and maintained it, although the French troops, left by the Queen to preserve peace, kept the city in constant alarm.

After leaving Edinburgh, Knox itinerated for two months through Scotland; visiting Kelso, Jedburgh, Dumfries, Ayr, Stirling, Perth, Brechin, Montrose



and Dundee. All classes were affected by his sermons—the careless aroused, and the faithful strengthened to hold fast that which they had received. “Oh that my heart could be thankful for the super-excellent benefit of my God!” he exclaimed, writing to a friend; “the long thirst of my wretched heart is satisfied in abundance that is above my expectation: for now, for forty days and more, hath my God used my tongue in my native country to the manifestation of His glory. Whatsoever now shall follow as touching my own carcase, His holy name be praised. The thirst of the poor people, as well as of the nobility here, is wondrous great; which putteth me in comfort that Christ Jesus shall triumph here in the north and extreme parts of the earth for a space.”

In another letter he says—“Time to me is so precious, that with great difficulty can I steal one hour in eight days, either to satisfy myself or to gratify my friends. I have been in continued travel since the day of my appointment; and notwithstanding the fevers that vex me, yet have I travelled through the most parts of this realm, where (all praise to His blessed Majesty!) men of all sorts embraced the truth. Enemies we have many, by reason of the Frenchmen lately arrived, of whom our Papists hope golden hills.”

At such a time, when France might at any moment turn against her, Elizabeth durst not openly help Scotland. The Earl of Arran was sent home on

the 1st of September, under a feigned name, M. de Beaufort; and no one was to know, or appear to know, that he had been in England. Still Noailles suspected that more was doing for Scotland than the Queen of England chose to confess; but again she declared that, "although she could not answer for her ministers," who might have been foolish enough to write to the rebels, yet if they expected help from her, they would be disappointed. As to the report that she had written to them, let the Queen, she said, produce the letter if she could. Thus reassured, Noailles told his master to set his mind at rest, Elizabeth would not support the Scotch. And yet Noailles thought the Queen's manner belied her words—she laughed too much, he said. "There is more dissimulation in her than good-will; she can play her part better than most people." Her "dissimulation," indeed, was so perfect that it half-blinded the members of her own council. Lord William Howard declared that he was ready to forfeit honour and life should it be proved that the Queen, in any way, countenanced the Scottish rebellion. Cecil, her secretary, who knew all, had a hard card to play; to put a bold face on the matter, he complained to Noailles of the falsehoods circulated respecting the Queen, and assured him that, instead of encouraging the rebels, Elizabeth had refused to grant them help, as, above all things, she desired to be on friendly terms with her dear brother the King of France.

In the meantime the Earl of Arran escaped to

Berwick, and from thence was escorted by some Lords of the Congregation into Teviotdale. The Regent, hearing this, wrote to Noailles, and he to Elizabeth, who said it was all a mistake. Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts were faithful, trustworthy servants, and they denied the thing altogether.

The delay in the arrival of the French troops, and the English money sent to the Scots, so cheered their spirits, that the Lords petitioned the Regent to raise the siege of Leith. Chatelherault first signed his name, and was followed by the other leaders. The Queen haughtily refused, and the Lords agreed to meet at Edinburgh on the 15th of October, and formally pronounce her deposed, unless she complied with their demand. Knox and Willock being summoned to advise upon this matter, Willock declared that the powers of rulers were limited; that the Queen-Regent had, by fortifying Leith, and introducing foreign troops into the country, shown a fixed determination to oppress and enslave the country; and that she might therefore lawfully be deprived of the authority she had abused. To all this Knox agreed, adding that the lords and barons, the natural counsellors of the realm, might, with safe consciences, act upon it, provided they attended to three important suggestions:—to be certain in their hearts that they would not allow the conduct of the Regent to alienate their affections from their lawful sovereigns, Francis and Mary; that they were not actuated in

deposing the Regent by any feeling of personal hostility to her; and that, in case she should show a desire to repent of her past misconduct, and follow the wish of the Estates of the realm, they would readmit her to office. Mary of Guise was then declared to have forfeited the regency, and the government, being taken from her, was, for the time, vested in a council, composed of Chatelherault and the other Protestant leaders.

Though the Queen was deposed, the French garrison refused to surrender Leith, and the Lords found that their zeal had outstripped their power. The main army might arrive any day from France, and though the Scots numbered 15,000 fighting men, they knew little of the science of war, and their treasury was almost empty. To send to Berwick for 1000 men was thought of, but to act so openly would have been perilous. Money could be more easily smuggled into the country, and "money," said Cecil, "they must have." The day after Cecil wrote thus, (the 3d of November,) Elizabeth almost betrayed herself:—

There was a tournament at Greenwich. Noailles sat beside the Queen. Suddenly turning round, she asked, "What news from Scotland?" He replied that an army was on its way there to quell the rebellion. "Look to your own affairs," she sharply retorted, "and I shall look to mine: the troops already at Leith are a match for the Scots: those armies and fleets of yours in Normandy are not meant for Scot-

land only." Noailles protested that his master would "observe his treaties." "It may be so," replied Elizabeth, "but there is no harm in being prepared; you will then be the less tempted to meddle with us." She spoke the truth this time, and her actions suited her words. Ships were made ready to sail at a moment's notice, the Isle of Wight was garrisoned, and Lord Grey went down to Berwick with 2000 men, to be ready for any emergency.

But while Elizabeth was all energy, the Scots grew more inert. They expected that the Regent would withdraw her troops at once, but nothing was further from her intention, and preparations were made for the assault. The Scots had but few scaling ladders, so orders were given to prepare some in the aisles of the High Church of St Giles, much to the horror of Knox, who prophesied that "an enterprise begun in sacrilege must end in defeat." Compassionating their distress, Cecil induced Elizabeth to send four thousand pounds to Berwick by the Master of Ormiston; but he was waylaid on the road, and the treasure stolen by the Earl of Bothwell. The next morning, Arran and Lord James thought to surprise the robber and recover the spoil, but he was gone before they reached Crichton, and, during their absence, 1500 men sallied out of Leith, and took two guns from the Scots, the only good ones they had, and returned to Leith. The Queen-Regent, sitting on the ramparts, welcomed her victorious soldiers, laden with plunder. A few days after, a convoy carrying provisions into Edin-

burgh was intercepted, and three hundred men fell in the struggle: sick at heart, the Congregation abandoned the town at midnight, and marched to Stirling, (6th November 1559.)

Knox was with the troops in Edinburgh, and by his eloquence wonderfully supported his party. Preaching upon the 80th Psalm, he remarked that the happiness of God's people was not to be measured by external circumstances, since it had often happened that His chosen ones suffered more severely than the heathen.

Calvin's sermons were often so dry, "mere skeletons of flesh and blood," that one of our English Reformers asked concerning them, "Can these dry bones live?" Knox's sermons were not such. Placing himself in the position of those whom he addressed, entering into their peculiar circumstances, he worked his way into their minds. And now, looking straight into the dejected faces before him, he said: "You are confounded, the enemy has triumphed, your hearts have quaked for fear, and are still oppressed with sorrow and shame." They had sinned, he went on to say, by "trusting in an arm of flesh" instead of in the living God. He would remind them that, at the commencement of their great struggle, they had only God for their Protector, and now, had they not forgotten Him, and thought more of "the power and dignity of their leader, the Duke, than of the favour of Heaven and the equity of their cause?" And yet, he said, he feared the Duke

had not repented of his sin in giving assistance to the enemies of the Lord, "of the innocent blood of Christ's martyrs which was shed through his default. . . . At all events, sure I am," continued Knox, "that neither he nor his friends did feel before this time the anguish and grief of heart which we felt when their blind fury pursued us, and therefore hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall in this confusion—us, because we put our confidence in man; and them, to make them feel how bitter was that cup which they had made others to drink before them. What then remaineth?" he asked, "but that both they and we turn to the Eternal—our God who beateth down to death, that He may raise up again, to leave behind the remembrance of His wondrous deliverance to the praise of His own name, which, if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt this our dolour, confusion, and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness, than I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after they were twice driven back. . . . Be assured," he continued, with increased vehemence, "this cause, whatever becomes of us and our mortal carcasses, shall, in despite of Satan, prevail in this realm of Scotland. It is the eternal truth of God, and, however for the time oppressed, must in the end be triumphant."

Revived by these words, the leaders of the Congregation met in the afternoon, and, after prayer for guidance through the storm, they resolved to send



Maitland and Balnaves to ask help from Elizabeth. A few lines from Arran, explaining or excusing the disaster, went with them, and a letter from Knox to Cecil, urging immediate and substantial support—"To drive time with France," he said, "may appear to some to be profitable unto you; but, as I before have written, so yet I fear not again to affirm, that nothing hath been, is, nor shall be more hurtful to both, than that ye defer from favour towards us. The godly here are, and shall be so oppressed, that often they cannot be able to serve. Friends do faint and fall back from the enterprise. The whole multitude, a few excepted, stand in such doubt, they cannot tell to which party they shall incline."

Arran's letter to Cecil referred him to Maitland for further information. It was freely given. The proposal of the Congregation was to unite the two crowns in Elizabeth, and that henceforth England and Scotland should be called "by the ancient name of Great Britain." Not a word was said about the Arran marriage, that matter being reserved for future discussion. Could Elizabeth accept this offer? She must first inquire, through her ambassador, the intentions of Spain; in the event of a war, would Philip assist her? It was more than doubtful. Philip had done what he could for her, even to asking her in marriage. She had rejected him, and now he must look to his interests, and leave her to provide for her own.

On the retreat of the Protestants from Edinburgh,

the Queen-Regent took possession of the town, but Lord Erskine still held, and would continue to hold, the castle: "It had been committed to his charge," he said, "by the Parliament of Scotland, and nothing but an order of the same great council would induce him to surrender it." News of the Queen's successes being carried to France, preparations were made to send such a force into Scotland as would at once crush the Congregation, and end the war. But the Scots were not half alive to their danger, and Elizabeth still wavered. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, opposed the war, but Cecil never changed his opinion, and in private "durst say what was fearful to be thought of, and what he would not speak commonly." If the Queen, he said, "waited to be attacked in the northern counties of England, and if she were to lose a battle there, as she might lose it—there were there hollow and discontented hearts, which would find their time to break out, and yield to the will of France." This was plain speaking, which Elizabeth did not like, though her judgment went with it. The great difficulty of the question lay in the fact that England and France were at peace, and any assistance given to the Reformed party in Scotland would be regarded as an open declaration of war. Finding no one willing to back him, and overpowered by the responsibility of his office, Cecil left the council, went home, and sent in his resignation. "With a sorrowful heart and watery eyes," he wrote to Elizabeth, "I, your poor

servant and most lowly subject and unworthy secretary, beseech your majesty to pardon this my lowly suit, that, considering the proceeding in this matter for running the French out of Scotland doth not content your majesty, and that I cannot with my conscience give any contrary advice, I may, with your majesty's favour and clemency, be spared to intermeddle therein."

Throughout her reign, Elizabeth was cautious, and "from hour to hour her humour shifted." After harassing indecision, she "allowed not" the advice of her council, and adopted Cecil's. All was now preparation for war. Money was borrowed in abundance. Sir William Winter sailed from Gillingham with fourteen vessels, with orders to proceed to the Forth, and watch the coming of the French squadron under D'Elbœuf. His instructions were to remember that "the principal part of his service was, to impede the access of any more succour from France into Scotland, and to facilitate any departure thence towards France." He "might provoke a quarrel, if he did not find one," and "sink and destroy any vessels which attacked him," and "seize powder and guns for himself." He was, "if challenged, to say that he acted on his own responsibility," and "not profess that he bore the Queen's commission." Norfolk, though he disapproved of the war, consented to command the army on land, and on the whole, Elizabeth met with little opposition. She was just then in a mood to care little for the opinion of any one

who disagreed with her, and though aware that giving aid to the Scotch Protestants was detestable to Spain, she told De Quadra that the Flemish refugees who were seeking shelter in England were "welcome;" and that "if the Spanish troops in Flanders could be sent to toast themselves in their own Indies or Castile, religion would flourish there as well as in England, and the sooner they were gone the better."

In January 1560 all eyes turned towards the sea. The French knew D'Elbœuf was on his way from Calais; the Protestants, that Winter had sailed from England. But Elizabeth's irresolution returned as the time for action drew near. She had "kindled the fire" in Scotland, but she "would not fling the first stone;" and so, when Winter, having weathered the storm which destroyed the French fleet, cast anchor before Leith, he showed no colours. The French flag was flying at the fort, but he took no notice of it. There he lay, waiting to be attacked; and he had his desire—a shot fired into his vessel gave the signal for a broadside. The fort was blown up, vessels were seized and carried off. Winter remained in command of the Forth, and no retreat was open to the French but over Stirling Bridge. Norfolk was at Berwick, and Winter sent an express to say, that with the help of his troops "the work would be done." But the Duke had no orders to move, and, seeing that D'Oysel could not escape from Leith, they left him there, to starve or surrender.

But he had no such intention, and in the face of tremendous difficulties escaped to Stirling; and while the Congregation were congratulating themselves over the victory which they had let slip, D'Oysel, after refreshing his men, quietly returned to Leith.

Winter remained before Leith. By whose order? the Queen-Regent demanded. Ready with a falsehood, he replied that he was "sent to sea to search for pirates, and had entered the Forth to watch for them." Elizabeth, when questioned by Noailles, gave an equally evasive answer, and when he complained that her conduct encouraged the Scotch rebels, she said "she could not consider the nobility and natives of Scotland as rebels, but as wise and faithful subjects to the crown of Scotland, since they had ventured to offend the French King in defence of the rights of his wife, their sovereign." Having spoken thus freely, Elizabeth proceeded to give the Congregation more substantial assurance of her goodwill. In the end of January a treaty was concluded, by which she took the kingdom of Scotland, with Chatelherault and his party, under her protection, and promised to continue to assist them until the French were driven out of the country. On their part, Chatelherault and his friends engaged to regard the interests of England as their own, and to succour Elizabeth with four thousand men, if France should attack her. This treaty being signed, the English army, under Lord Grey, entered Scotland on the 2d of April 1560, and, to save time, while his heavy guns

were coming by sea, he proposed to seize Edinburgh Castle, where the Queen-Regent had taken refuge with Erskine.

Meanwhile the English fleet remained in the harbour, watching day and night, to keep the French "waking." The winter had been severe, the work "cruel," and if the Scots had been as diligent on land, D'Oysel would not have escaped to Stirling; but Lord James Stuart alone had been true to himself and his cause. Now, the cold humour of the Scots continued, ready to accept the English aid, but not to give self-sacrificing help themselves. However, being pressed, it was determined to besiege Leith, and Lord Grey encamped before it, while Winter opened fire from the fleet. The French guns in St Anthony's steeple were soon silenced; but a more serious action followed, in which the French attacked the English trenches, entered their camp, spiked their cannon, and then retreated to Leith, leaving two hundred and forty of the enemy dead. This was on the 15th of April. "It was one of the hottest skirmishes ever seen," and a bitter disappointment to the Congregation.

When the news reached Elizabeth, she desired that the siege should be continued with increased vigour. The Queen-Regent, anxious to disunite the Congregation from England, promised them all they could desire, if they would abandon Elizabeth; but, to their credit, they refused her overtures.

On Tuesday the 16th of April, three thousand ad-

ditional troops arrived from Berwick, and the siege recommenced in good earnest. Day after day the English made advances upon the French lines, and Grey looked confidently to success, though not more than half-a-dozen Protestant noblemen supported him. On the evening of the 30th, Leith was on fire, the flames rose into the sky, spreading the news far and near. Grey wrote a despatch to Norfolk, while almost deafened by the shouts of triumph and the roaring of the guns. Before he closed his letter, a third part of the town lay in ashes. "Yet it burns—yet—yet!" were his last words.

And in the morning, May-garlands, like flowers on a grave, decked the dismantled walls. The French were not subdued, and the more narrowly Grey observed those walls, the less he relished the prospect of the assault. The Scotch were not accustomed to scale ramparts, and there were no "Zouaves" among the troops. To storm and fail would be to lose all; he preferred the "spade and mattock."

The work was harassing, the English soldiers began to desert, there was grumbling against Grey, and, contrary to his own judgment, he decided to run the risk of an assault. On the 6th of May it began, the following morning being fixed for a general storm by land and sea; but that evening the ground was examined, and the assault deferred. No one knew how, but this second decision was set aside, and in the morning, before the sun was up, the English line advanced—they little thought—to destruction. The



attempt utterly failed, partly from mismanagement, partly from the extreme difficulty of the enterprise. Mary of Lorraine, carried from her sick-bed, watched the fight from the castle wall. Most of the officers and eight hundred men lay dead and wounded in the trenches.

Desertion followed defeat. To keep the men, ten days' pay was given throughout the camp. When the news reached Norfolk, he sent off 2000 men, and wrote to Cecil for further reinforcements, "or the matter would fail." "If the French knew how weak we are," wrote Sadler, "it might be dangerous to us." But then the comfort was, they were themselves starving.

Elizabeth, who had so long wavered about going to war, how did she bear defeat? It is hard to discover her private thoughts, but Cecil told Throgmorton, "She mindeth so earnestly as nothing shall be spared. Order is given to send both men, money, and artillery, with all possible speed. But it was hard work to bring her to that." "I have had such a torment herein with the Queen's majesty," he added, (in cipher,) "as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated me." The siege continued; both parties were wearied out. On the 17th of May, the Regent wrote to D'Oysel, in cipher, on a pocket handkerchief, to know how long he could hold out. The handkerchief plan failed, so the Queen tried another, and wrote for advice to a doctor in Leith. The letter, being held to the fire, Grey learned its contents, and desired the

messenger to "tell his mistress he would keep her counsel, but that such wares would not sell till a new market."

The French had scarcely a loaf of bread in the camp. Peace was earnestly desired, and Cecil was ordered to make proposals to end the war. It was a difficult task. He did not feel sure as to what Elizabeth really wished; and, sick at heart, and overpowered by the responsibility of his trust, he set out for Scotland on the 30th of May. After much deliberation, a conference was held on the 17th of June, which resulted in an armistice for a week, during which the French and English officers had a pic-nic on Leith sands, "each bringing with him such victuals as he had in store. From Grey's camp—hams, capons, chickens, wine, and beer. The French produced a solitary fowl, a piece of baked horse, and six delicately-roasted rats—the last was the best fresh meat in the town; but of that they said they had abundance!" So wrote Randolph, the English minister, to Killigrew.

In the midst of the siege Mary of Guise died. She had long been ill. The 6th of June she was pronounced "very ill, and like to die." Two days after, she sent for Chatelherault and Lord James Stuart, told them she was dying, and that she was "sorry for Scotland, and for her own share in Scotland's sufferings," and asked forgiveness of those to whom her government had been prejudicial. Lord James asked her to see Willock, and she heard all he had to

say with attention. Nevertheless, she afterwards sent for a Romish priest, from whom she received the sacraments of his Church. After death, her body lay in state in the castle, while waiting to be carried back to France. "I saw the dowager's corpse," wrote Randolph to Killigrew, "in a bed covered with a fair white sheet, the tester of black satin, and the bed hanged to the ground with the same. It is determined she shall have all solemnities fit for such a personage, save such as savour rather of superstition than of Christian piety."

One of the most important articles in the late conference was the acknowledgment of Elizabeth's right to the crown of England, and the solemn engagement of Francis and Mary neither to assume the title nor bear the arms of King and Queen of England in any time to come. The French were brought to yield every demand. "The Scots might remain in their religion, as a thing the French dared not meddle with." Fifty soldiers only were to remain at Dunbar, and, if the next Parliament so required it, they should be withdrawn. Matters were thus beginning to settle themselves, when it occurred to Elizabeth that she ought to reap a more abundant harvest from her generous outlay of men and money. She therefore required that the Queen of Scots should abandon all claim upon the English crown, and set aside the treaty of Cambray; and further, she demanded that her right to Calais should be referred to the decision of Spain. These difficulties being at last overcome,

the treaty of Edinburgh was signed on the 7th of July. On the 16th the French army embarked from Leith, and the English troops prepared to return home. Three days after, the Congregation assembled at St Giles', to offer thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace, and the success with which He had crowned their exertions.

## CHAPTER X.

The Romish Clergy desist from the Celebration of the Rites of their Religion—Parliament meets on 1st of August 1560—Shan O'Neil's Ambassador to the Earl of Argyle—The Protestants petition Parliament—The Confession of Faith drawn up by Knox, presented to Parliament—It is attacked and defended—Eventually adopted: thus abolishing Papal Authority in Scotland—The Book of Discipline—The Form and Order of the Reformed Church of Scotland—Education of the People provided for—Formation of the First Hebrew Class in Scotland—The First Meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland—Death of Knox's Wife.

THE Romish clergy had looked to the late war as that which would establish their religion throughout the land; but now, scarcely had the French troops left Scotland, when they, of themselves, desisted from celebrating the rites of their religion.

Romanism being abolished, the Reformed worship was established wherever there were ministers to perform it, so that when Parliament met, it had little to do but sanction that which the nation had already adopted. It assembled on the 1st of August 1560. The attendance was unusually large from all parts of the kingdom; and at least one visitor came from Ireland,—Shan O'Neil's ambassador to the Earl of Argyle. This personage, an Irish chieftain, is thus men-

tioned by Randolph to Cecil: "His diet, by reason of the length of the journey, so failed him, that he was fain to leave his saffran shirts in gage. The rest of his apparel is such, that the Earl, before he would give him audience, arrayed him from the neck downwards. Cap he would have none. Tall, gaunt, and shaggy, with his glyb shading his eyes, he lodged in the chimney—his drink aqua vitæ and milk."

The Protestants petitioned Parliament that the unscriptural doctrines maintained in the Romish Church should be renounced, and means taken to restore purity of worship and the discipline of the early Church; also, that the revenues of the Church should be applied to promote learning and for the relief of the poor. In reply, the Reformed ministers were desired to prepare a statement of their doctrines. This had already been done by Knox and his brethren, and their "Confession of Faith" was now laid before Parliament. In substance it was similar to the Confessions of other Reformed Churches. Upon being read, it was warmly attacked, and as warmly defended. The Earl of Athol, Lord Somerville, and Lord Borthwick voted against it, saying, "We will believe as our forefathers believed." The bishops "spake nothing." The Confession then passed, many offering to shed their blood for it. Old Lord Lindsay, as he gave his vote, said: "I have lived many years; I am the oldest of this company of my sort; now that it hath pleased God to let me see this day, when so many nobles and others have allowed so

worthy a work, I will say with Simeon : *Nunc dimittis, Domine.*" When all had voted, the Earl Marshal rose from his seat, and declared that the silence of the clergy confirmed him in his belief that the doctrines of the Reformed party were according to Scripture ; and now, as the clergy, when given the opportunity to object, had remained silent, he warned them that henceforth they must abstain from all opposition to the doctrines set forth by the Confession.

Thus Papal authority was abolished in Scotland ; but much remained to be done before the Reformed Church could be considered established.

Knox, in a course of sermons from Haggai, upon the rebuilding of the temple, stated his views upon the importance of ecclesiastical discipline. They were the same as Calvin's. Some ridiculed his "devout imagination," which led him into extremes, and Parliament refused, at least for the present, to sanction his plan ; but he brought it forward again and again, until the Privy Council desired him and the other ministers to lay it before them in writing. They did so, "not taking their example from any kirk in the world, no, not even Geneva," but from the Scriptures. It was approved by the General Assembly, and in part by the Privy Council. But some thought its discipline too strict, and the demand that the revenues of the Church should be applied for the support of religious and literary establishments of the Reformed worship unreasonable.

This "First Book of Discipline" set forth the



form and order of the Protestant Church of Scotland. The permanent office-bearers of the Church were to be four—ministers or pastors, to preach and administer the sacraments; doctors or teachers, to interpret Scripture and refute errors; ruling elders, to assist ministers in exercising ecclesiastical discipline and government; and deacons, to whom the revenues of the Church and the care of the poor were to be intrusted. Besides these, readers, to relieve ministers in large parishes, were appointed; and superintendents, to travel about the country, to preach, open churches, and inspect the conduct of ministers and readers. At first ten were named, but from want of funds, not more than five were ever employed. The ministers, elders, and deacons formed the “kirk-session,” and met once a week, oftener if needed, for business. Twice a year the superintendent met the elders of his district in the Provincial Synod, to arrange ecclesiastical matters within his bounds; and three times a year the General Assembly, composed of ministers and elders from different parts of the country, met to transact business connected with the National Church.

There were two services of public worship each Sunday, conducted according to the “Book of Common Order” used by the English Church in Geneva, a little altered to suit the state of Scotland. Each afternoon catechising was substituted for the sermon, for the benefit of the ignorant. In large towns there was a sermon one day in each week; those who de-

sired it had the opportunity of attending public worship, combined with the reading of Scripture, upon almost every day of the week. The celebration of baptism was always accompanied by preaching or catechising. The Lord's Supper was administered four times a year in towns, in the morning, and later in the day. The sign of the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's table, were forbidden, as savouring of Popery.

The Book of Discipline carefully provided for the education of the people. A school was to be opened in each parish, a grammar-school in every large town, and the universities were to be liberally endowed. "Honour to all the brave and true," exclaims Mr Carlyle; "everlasting honour to brave old Knox, one of the truest of the true! who sent the schoolmaster forth to all corners, and said, Let the people be taught."

But where were the funds to come from? They were ready at hand, the property of the Church. To what purpose could they be so well appropriated as for the support of the new ecclesiastical establishment, the ministry, the schools, and the poor. So thought Knox. Each minister was to have such "honest provision" as would secure him equally against "solicitude and insolency and wantonness." In general, forty bolls of meal and twenty-six bolls of malt, with a moderate sum of money to provide other necessities for the support of a family, were considered adequate provision for a minister. Superintendents were to receive more, in consideration of

their travelling expenses. The best means by which to provide for the poor was, as yet, an open question ; but the "stubborn and idle beggars" with which the country swarmed were to be suppressed, the young and healthy obliged to work, and the aged and infirm to be provided for by parish funds.

Many of the Protestant lords, who regarded the Reformation not so much as a matter of doctrine, as a stepping-stone by which to reach the rich benefices of the Church, vehemently opposed these arrangements, and refused to ratify the Book of Discipline. Some had already seized upon Church lands, and, considering possession as nine points of the law, resolved to keep them. Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar, "had," says Knox, "two reasons for refusing his consent ; first, he has a very Jezebel to his wife ; and second, if the poor, the schools, and the ministers of the Kirk had their own, his kitchen would want two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesses."

Just at this time, when, by the Book of Discipline, the knowledge of Hebrew was made a necessary branch of education, John Row formed the first Hebrew class ever taught in Scotland. Nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in that school, and nothing but French in the family of the master. The Scripture from the Old Testament, read at family worship, was always from the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English ; from the New Testament, in Greek, Latin, and English. Row so thoroughly in-

structed his own son that, when he was eight years old, he was employed to read the Hebrew Scripture lessons while the rest of the boys were at dinner. And yet it has been said that in those days Scotland was "unacquainted with the pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civility;" but the truth is, that the Scotch Reformation was decidedly friendly to the cultivation of literature, and that its great champions were men of learning and talent.

The first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held on the 20th December 1560. It consisted of forty members, of whom only six were ministers. Knox was one of those six, and he continued until his death to attend its meetings. At the close of the year his wife died, leaving two children to his care. His biographer says his grief for her loss was deep. He married again.

## CHAPTER XI.

Scotland's anxiety for the Arran Marriage—Death of Francis II.—Mary Stuart invited to come and reign over her People—Lord James receives his Instructions and starts for France—Meanwhile Mary sends Commissioners to Scotland—Proposals of Marriage received by the Queen of Scots—Mary leaves France, and, escaping the English Ships, lands at Leith—The Probable Effects of her Arrival discussed—She Favours the Protestants—Slight the Romanists—The People object to the Mass at Holyrood—Knox keeps them quiet—Mary's resolve upon coming to Scotland—Knox Preaches at St Giles's, and is summoned before the Queen—Curious Interview—Knox sees through the Queen, and Pronounces her False-hearted—Mary's Anxiety to keep on Good Terms with England—Her Conduct Perplexes the Romish Party—She earnestly desires an Interview with Elizabeth—Massacre of Vassy—Knox's Sermon.

THE Confession of Faith did not satisfy Elizabeth, and so anxious were the Scots to please her, in the hope that she would gratify them about "the other matter"—the Arran marriage—that Maitland promised to alter or modify it according to her majesty's pleasure.

Scotland set its heart upon this marriage, and no sooner were Church matters settled than the Estates met, and drew up an address to Elizabeth upon the subject. A private letter, from Maitland to Cecil, went first to prepare the way. Day after day he

watched, but no reply came. This did not augur well, and report stated that Elizabeth's humour just then was none of the best. However, in September 1560, the Arran petition arrived in London, brought by the Earls of Morton and Glencairn. Maitland accompanied them, not, he said, that he expected any good to come of the petition. A large portion of the English favoured the marriage, and the Commissioners were hospitably entertained by Bedford and Pembroke, who regarded it as nothing short of "a necessity," were it only to save Elizabeth from marrying Dudley. While the Queen delayed her answer, Francis II. died, (December 6, 1560,) and Elizabeth, thus freed from apprehension regarding France, made up her mind to refuse Arran, at least, for the present. She therefore dismissed the Commissioners, saying "she was not inclined to marry; she might," she said, "perhaps change her mind, but she begged the Earl to consider himself at liberty to make any other alliance which might suit his fancy." "What motive the Queen of England had in this refusal we omit," says Knox. The Scots were enraged. Maitland did his best to keep them quiet, but "all men's minds," he said, "were astir," and it was hard to say how it would end. Their heart's affections would now be given to their lawful Queen, and they would "percase put themselves in her good graces."

The news of the French King's death was received by the Congregation in Scotland with undisguised exultation. "When all things," said Knox, "were

in readiness to shed the blood of innocents, the Eternal, our God, who ever watcheth for the preservation of His own, began to work, and suddenly did put His own work in execution. For, as the King sat at mass, he was struck with an apothume in that deaf ear which would never hear the truth of God, when his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart vanished in smoke."

That the death of her husband, politically regarded, was a relief to Mary, Throgmorton believed, and he called upon her to thank God for thus securing to her peace and quietness. Three weeks before the death of Francis, he and Mary had written a letter to the Estates, lamenting the establishment of the Reformed faith in Scotland; and, in Elizabeth's answer to the Arran petition, she had encouraged the Lords of the Congregation to expect aid from her should they require it. These two pieces of information determined Parliament to invite their young Queen to come and take the reins of Government into her own hands.

The Estates met on the 16th January 1561, and appointed Lord James Stuart to proceed to France with this invitation. But here lay a difficulty. Parliament had denounced all who should hear mass, and the Queen was a rigid Romanist. What should Lord James say to his sister upon this matter? After long discussion, he received his instructions,—that Mary should be allowed the free exercise of her religion in private, but that no permission should be



given for the "establishment of idolatrous worship in public."

While the Estates were thus guarding against the re-establishment of Popery, the Romish lords intrusted faithful commissioners to carry to France an expression of their loyalty and devoted attachment to the Queen's person. But before the envoys of either party started, commissioners arrived from the Queen, (20th January 1561,) the bearers of important intelligence.—Mary intended soon to "return home," and promised a general pardon to all offenders. She had received proposals of marriage from Spain, Sweden, and Denmark, but until she consulted her nobles, she declined to answer any of them. She earnestly desired the old league between France and Scotland to be renewed, and finally exhorted her subjects to live in peace. At the same time, she wrote separately to almost all the leading men in Scotland, assuring them of her readiness to forgive and forget all injuries, and to retain them in her service, should they show themselves worthy of her favour.

Chatelherault and Knox were by no means pleased to hear of these proposals for the Queen's marriage. They both intended her for Arran, who, disappointed by Elizabeth, turned his thoughts that way.

Mary had not ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, the 6th article of which acknowledged that the crown of England and Scotland belonged exclusively to Elizabeth. All Throgmorton's entreaties failed to move her. "I am sorry, madam," he said upon one

occasion, "that the ratification of the treaty is refused, together with other injuries offered to the Queen, my mistress, (as, contrary to the express articles of the treaty, the King and you do bear openly the arms of England,) will give the Queen, my mistress, occasion greatly to suspect your well-meaning unto her." "My uncles," said Mary, "have sufficiently answered you in this matter; and for your part, I pray you, do the office of a good minister betwixt us, and so shall you do well." "And so," concludes Throgmorton, "the Queen dismissed me, and Mons. de Lansac brought me to my horse."

And so the matter remained as it was. The treaty not ratified, and Elizabeth's claim to Calais not acknowledged, with other grievances, kept up a constant quarrel between the two queens, notwithstanding the messages of love and good-will which passed between the "dear sisters." And now Elizabeth refused Mary a passport through her dominions. The seas were infested by pirates. Elizabeth turned it to account. "Neither they in Scotland, nor we here," wrote Cecil to Sussex, "do like the Scottish Queen going home. The Queen's majesty (Elizabeth) hath three ships in the North seas to preserve the fishers from pirates. *I think they will be sorry to see her pass.*"

Preparations for her departure being made, Throgmorton took leave of Mary 21st July, regretting that, as Elizabeth's ambassador, he was not at liberty to attend one on board with whom his mistress was not on good terms.

On August 14, Mary, Queen of Scots, sailed with a fair wind from Calais. All that day she sat silently, watching the coast of France. At night she ordered her bed to be brought on deck, and lay down, with her eyes still fixed towards the shore, desiring to be called at sunrise if land were still visible. The vessel was becalmed during the night, and when the sun rose, the white cliffs of France were still discernible. Mary sat up; once more she gazed on the country in which her happiest days had been spent, and as it faded from her view, she sighed, "Farewell, France, beloved France, I shall never see thee more!" Under cover of a fog, her galleys escaped the "ships sent to preserve fishers from pirates," and Mary landed on the pier at Leith on the 19th of August, after an absence of thirteen years from her native land.

Meanwhile there were many surmisings respecting the effect which her arrival would produce in Scotland. "The Protestants," Maitland said, "were numerous, but there were many who would gladly lend a hand to overturn them"—some were "lukewarm"—some "would be bribed"—others would "do as their sovereign desired." No doubt, there were "a few who would constantly carry out what they had begun," but he was a good prophet who could say what "a princess, craftily counselled, might do among them." She would not make enemies at first, but "bide her time" and "work her way by degrees"—probably charge the Protestants with betraying their country, when to accuse them of heresy might not

be convenient. He had no wish, Maitland declared, to deprive her of her kingdom; but he saw no harm in having "such things as were necessary provided in time," that "neither might she, by following the advice of God's enemies, lose her subjects' hearts, nor those who tended the glory of God and the liberty of their country, be made the sons of death." Further, Maitland was persuaded that Mary would never ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and before she arrived in Scotland, he cautiously hinted to Cecil that the only means by which to preserve the alliance between England and Scotland was the recognition of the Queen of Scots as Elizabeth's successor. This would heal the breach between the two Queens—nothing else would. As long as the Queen is absent, said Maitland, matters are safe enough; but he would not answer for the consequences once she landed among her people; it being his opinion that, "if the Reforming leaders attempted to thwart her, by eschewing Scylla, they would fall into Charybdis. I pray you," concluded Maitland, "let me in this point have your advice, and let me know what the Queen's majesty will think."

Mary arrived unexpectedly, early in the morning of the 19th, as, in consequence of the fog, her ships were not seen until close to shore. She was enthusiastically received, and conducted by the nobility to Holyrood. Though the procession was very unlike the splendid pageants to which she had been accustomed, its rude heartiness gratified her, though she "sighed

when she saw the sorry palfreys prepared for her and her ladies." Psalm-singing under her window waked her early the next morning. Altogether, Holyrood was very unlike Versailles; but Mary checked any sign of disappointment in her manner, and won all hearts by her graceful beauty.

Mary had stipulated for permission—and it had been granted—to celebrate mass in her private chapel. However, it excited a tumult; and the more vehement among the Protestants declared their determination to resist the "idol" by force, sooner than allow it to be again set up in the land; and Knox declared, "one mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed men landed in Scotland on purpose to put down the Reformed religion." Just as it was about to be celebrated, Lord Lyndsay buckling on his armour, and, crying out that "the priests should die the death," rushed into the palace court. Lord James, who had been the bearer of the permission to Mary, stood at the chapel door while the priests officiated, for which he got some hard words from Knox.

Nevertheless, Knox and the other leading Protestants, anxious to avoid offending the Queen, kept the people from open tumult. Well might they tremble at the prospect of the re-establishment of Popery, under whose cruel sway multitudes on the Continent were even then being tortured unto death. "God forbid!" exclaimed the Lords of the Privy Council in the Queen's presence, "God forbid that the lives of the faithful stood in the power of the Papists!"

“Queen Mary came to Scotland,” says Mr Froude, “with a purpose as fixed as the stars, to trample down the Reformation, and to seat herself, at last, on Elizabeth’s throne.” That glittering prize was always before her eyes, and to attain it she was content to wait patiently, and not injure her cause by rashness. Accordingly, six days after her arrival, she declared that, “until she should take fixed orders concerning religion, with advice of Parliament, any attempt to alter or subvert the religion which she found universally practised in the realm should be deemed a capital crime.” She appointed her brother, Lord James, and Maitland, her principal advisers; not one post of confidence being given to a Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, throughout her whole career, she adhered to the instructions given to her on leaving France—to sacrifice everything to the one object of reducing her kingdom to the Pope, and to co-operate with Romish princes on the Continent to root heresy out of Europe.

Maitland was not mistaken. The beauty and winning manners of the young Queen fascinated even the Puritans. “I have been here five days,” said Lord Ochiltree, “and at the first I heard every man say, Let us hang the priest; but after they had been twice or thrice at the abbey, all that fervency was past. I think there is some enchantment, whereby men are bewitched.” Encouraged by her success, Mary hoped even to subdue Knox.

While in France she had heard of his book against

female government, and of himself as the ringleader of the Protestant party; and she came to Scotland, determined to punish him. Yet so far was Knox from entertaining disloyal feelings towards her, that he helped to frustrate a scheme contrived by Lord James and Chatelherault to exclude her from the throne.

The Sunday after the Queen's arrival, Knox preached at St Giles' against the mass. The violence of his language, as reported to her, greatly irritated the Queen, and she summoned him to Holyrood. She first questioned him concerning his book, which, she said, excited subjects to revolt against their rulers. Knox confessed himself its author, but said it was written against "the wicked Jezebel of England." "But you speak of women in general," replied Mary. "Most true, madam," said Knox; "yet it appeareth to me that wisdom should persuade your grace never to raise trouble for that which, to this day, has not troubled your majesty, neither in person nor in authority. . . . Now, madam," he concluded, "if I had intended to have troubled your estate, because ye are a woman, I would have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose than I can do now, when your presence is within the realm." The Queen then spoke of the rebellion, and of the heresies spread throughout the land, in spite of its rulers. Knox replied that true religion was from God, not from the princes of this world,—that the Israelites in Egypt did not follow the religion of Pharaoh, nor Daniel



that of Nebuchadnezzar, nor St Paul that of Nero. "You speak the truth," said the Queen; "but they did not resist with the sword." "They had neither the power nor the means to do so," replied Knox. "What?" cried the Queen, "think you that subjects having the power may resist their princes?" "Most assuredly," he answered, "if they exceed their bounds; for no greater honour or obedience is to be given to kings and princes by their subjects, than God has commanded to be given to parents by their children; and yet, if a father go mad, and attempt to murder his children, they may lawfully bind him, and take his sword from him. It is even so, madam," continued the stern Reformer, "it is even so with princes that would murder the children of God—it is no disobedience to resist their authority, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the Word of God." As Knox uttered these words, he fixed his eyes upon the young Queen, as if he would read her inmost thoughts. She stood silent and amazed—the words, the style of address, were new to her, and she burst into tears. Recovering herself, and being somewhat "soothed and comforted" by her brother, who alone was present, she said, turning to Knox, "I see how it is—I am to obey my subjects, not they me." "God forbid!" he replied; "but it becomes kings to be nursing-fathers, and queens nursing-mothers to the Church." "You are not the Church that I will nourish," replied the Queen; "I will defend the Church of Rome, for I think it is the true Church of God." "Your will,

madam," said Knox, "is no reason; and I offer myself to prove that the Church of the Jews who crucified Jesus Christ was not so degenerated from the ordinances and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron, as the Church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined, from that purity of religion which the apostles taught." "My conscience," said Mary, "is not so." "Conscience," cried Knox, "requires knowledge, and I fear of right knowledge you have but little." Dinner put an end to the conversation, and Knox withdrew, praying that Mary might be "blessed in the commonwealth of Scotland as richly as ever was Deborah in the commonwealth of Israel."

This meeting between the fascinating though misguided Queen, and the rough but honest Reformer, was the subject of conversation everywhere. Was it likely to make matters better or worse? Cecil feared that Knox's violent language, which "was not easily digested," would do harm; while the Romish party dreaded the influence his eloquence might produce. He had no sympathy with either: "If there be not in the Queen," he said, "a proud mind, a crafty soul, and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me." And to Cecil he wrote: "The Queen neither is nor shall be of our opinion; and, in very deed, her whole proceedings do declare that the Cardinal's lessons are so deeply printed in her heart, that the substance and the quality are like to perish together. I would be

glad to be deceived ; but I fear I shall not. In conversing with her, I espied such craft as I have not found in any age."

The fact is, from the first, Knox, and he alone, saw through and through Mary Stuart. In his opinion, "all were deceived about her." Even Maitland marvelled "how the whole state of the realm should be altered by a woman." As to the charge of undue severity often brought against Knox, he cared little about it: "Men delighting to swim betwixt two waters," he said, "have often complained of my severity; I do fear that which men term lenity and sweetness do bring upon themselves and others more fearful destruction than yet hath followed the vehemency of any preacher within this realm."

The "holy water of the court" being freely sprinkled, many of the Protestant leaders absented themselves from the first General Assembly held after the Queen's arrival. Knox and Maitland warmly discussed this matter, neither sparing the other. "Take from us the liberty of Assemblies," said Knox, "and take from us the Gospel." "The Queen should ratify the Book of Discipline," observed a Protestant, upon which Maitland hinted that "many who had subscribed it were not subject to it." "All the godly adhere to it," was the answer. "Will the Duke?" inquired Maitland. "If not," said Lord Ochiltree, "let his name be scraped out of it, and out of our number and company." "That rule will not stand," said a courtier. "And may God require the injury

which the commonweath shall sustain at the hands of those who hinder it," replied Knox.

The great desire of Mary and her ministers was to keep on good terms with Elizabeth. But, never losing sight of her title to the English crown, the Scottish Queen steadily refused to ratify the treaty until that was recognised. Maitland, as we have seen, had already written his mind to Cecil, and now he begged to know whether his advice was likely to be followed. He received no satisfactory reply, though Lord James, who was sincerely desirous to promote his sister's interests on this point, threw the weight of his influence into the scale with Maitland.

The policy which Mary adopted during the first years of her reign, was regulated in reference to this question of her succession to the English crown. To further this she favoured the Protestant and depressed the Romanist party, at the head of whom was the Earl of Huntly, who had boasted that, if the Queen commanded him, he could "set up the mass in three shires."

The Romish party naturally thought it passing strange that their Queen (herself a rigid Romanist) should thus deal with them, and they now renewed their intrigues with the Guises, but without much success. Mary pretended to know nothing of Romish plotting and discontent, and held on her way, treating Randolph with marked courtesy, and corresponding with Elizabeth in terms of affectionate familiarity. Still, the succession was for ever recurring to her mind,

and her ministers impatiently longed to have that vexed question at rest. Elizabeth's plan was to evade an answer by a direct demand that Mary should ratify the treaty of Edinburgh first; while Mary, thus pressed, declared that the moment her claim was recognised she would ratify, and not till then. Many believed her—Knox did not, any more than he expected her to "embrace the true religion."

The provision allotted, by the Book of Discipline, to the Protestant clergy was certainly very moderate, and left them in a great measure dependent upon the voluntary assistance of their congregations. On the other hand, the revenues of the Church were divided between the nobles and the Romish prelates. At the meeting of the General Assembly, the ministers tried to procure a better arrangement, but failed. Two-thirds of the ecclesiastical revenues were left with the Romish clergy, "freely given to the devil," according to Knox, and the third part was divided between the court and the Protestant ministers. The Protestants remonstrated against this injustice, and were charged with "ingratitude" by Maitland for not acknowledging the Queen's liberality. "Assuredly," said Knox, "such as receive anything of the Queen are unthankful, if they acknowledge it not; but whether the ministers be of that rank or not, I greatly doubt." Knox spoke the more openly, because his own income, £200 a year, was large in comparison to that of his brethren, and he could not therefore be thought to speak from any motive of

self-interest. But small as their incomes were, they were a legal recognition of the right of the Presbyterian ministers to be supported by the State, and an evidence that, though Mary had her private mass at Holyrood, she understood that the Reformed religion was that of the country. It was therefore no wonder that Knox bitterly complained that the Book of Discipline was rejected, while the mass was permitted; neither was it strange that the Romish party should think nothing was wanting to complete the overthrow of their religion, but the long-expected, long-delayed meeting between the two Queens.

Cecil and Maitland did their best to bring this about; and Randolph, who ought to have known Mary well, believed her sincere in all she said and wrote about her affection for Elizabeth. Early in spring 1562, he sent Maitland to London to arrange for the interview. Lord James, who had lately married the daughter of the Earl Marshal, and received from the Queen the Earldom of Mar, was to accompany her. Everything promised well, and Randolph prophesied that the English Queen would be made "the instrument of Mary's conversion to Christ."

Whatever his reason may have been, Knox opposed this interview even from the pulpit, and with more than usual vehemence. "He gave the cross and the candle such a wipe last Sunday," wrote Randolph to Cecil, "that as wise and learned as himself wished him to have held his peace. He accompanied the same with a marvellous vehement and piercing prayer

in the end of his sermon, for the continuance of amity and hearty love with England."

Mary Stuart's toleration of the Protestants, and her repeated promises to "ratify," once her claim to the English crown was acknowledged, favourably disposed Elizabeth towards her, and she began to think that, if "fenced round with conditions," her claim might be allowed. Cecil thought otherwise, having long before made up his mind that Mary was not to be trusted.

Meanwhile the Earl of Arran had offered his hand in marriage to Mary, but she "detested the very thought of him;" and, in a mad frenzy, he formed a plan for carrying her off from Holyrood by force. Chatelherault denied all knowledge of the plot, and imprisoned his son in Hamilton Castle; but he escaped out of a window, and, flying to Knox, confessed his guilt. He then went to Lord James, and from him to the Queen. The scheme was a wild one; but Cecil thought "there was something in it." Chatelherault, "crying like a beaten child," protested his innocence, and Arran declared that the whole was contrived by Bothwell. In the midst of his explanation of the way in which he had been drawn into it, he talked of "devils and enchantments"—of being "bewitched by the mother of Lord James," so it was thought best to lodge him in the castle, as, sane or insane, he was not to be trusted. The Queen acted towards the Duke and his son with "great tenderness," and in every way showed her desire to win



the good opinion of Elizabeth and the Protestant party.

Lord James was especially her favourite. Before his marriage she gave a splendid banquet, for which she was condemned by some of her ministers. And "at this notable marriage," Randolph wrote to Cecil, "the Queen drank unto the English Queen's majesty. And after supper, in giving thanks, her majesty uttered, in many affectionate words, her desire of amity and perpetual kindness with the Queen." She was playing a deep game.

Knox continued to preach against "the idol of the mass," and to rebuke the Queen in his sermons for taking the revenues of the Church from faithful ministers, and giving them to "dumb dogs." Maitland called him to order for his language, as being "not seemly to be used to sovereigns." But Knox, who spoke under the persuasion that Mary had the will, though not the power, to root the Protestants out of the land, justified himself.

His vehemence was not cooled by the news which just then reached Scotland, and made every ear to tingle,—of the massacre of Vassy, the first step to St Bartholomew; and that very night, whatever the reason was, the Queen gave a grand ball at Holyrood, at which, says Knox, "she danced like the Philistines, for the pleasure she took in the destruction of God's people."

Knox preached the following Sunday from the

pulpit of St Giles. His sermon, suiting the occasion, spared no one who had shared in that night's festivities. News reached the Queen of the things he said, and of many things he did not say, and she called him into her presence. Mary spoke first. Knox told her she had been misinformed, "the fate," he added, "of those who absent themselves from faithful preaching." If she would listen, he would tell her "the truth." She did listen, and when he had finished, admitted that, though his words were "sharp enough, as related by himself," they were not so bad as she had been told. Knox then said "he was ready to state his doctrine to her Grace, if she were pleased to listen, but that it went against his conscience to come merely to justify himself from personal imputations. For," he added, "albeit I am here at your Grace's commandment, yet can I not tell what other men shall judge of me, that, at this time of day, am absent from my book." "Ye will not always be at your book," replied the Queen pettishly, and turned away. As Knox left the room, "with a reasonably merry countenance," some of the attendants said, "He is not afraid." Knox hearing them, asked, "Why should the pleasing face of a *gentlewoman* affray me? I have looked in the face of many angry *men*, and yet have not been afraid beyond measure."

The promised interview with Elizabeth, with the English crown glittering in the distance, made all Mary's troubles easy to her. On the 19th of May

1562, she sent Maitland to London to prepare for it, and inquire whether she should be "compelled" to ratify the treaty, and whether an escort of English noblemen would be placed at her disposal, and permission granted to her to use the Romish form of worship while she remained in England. Knox had blamed her uncles, the Guises, for the massacre of Vassy. Mary said she "would forget her uncles," and think only of her "fond sister," who was "too good to blame her for the faults of others."

And now, when all seemed ready for the interview, the English Council opposed it; but Elizabeth was determined, and though her resolution was "groaned at by the best and wisest," she told Maitland to return and tell his mistress that she would meet her at Nottingham on the 3d of September. Whether she was sincere or not, who can say? but certain it is, that at last she gave way to her Council, who urged that, at a time when the Romish party was fiercely persecuting the Protestants in France, Elizabeth, who supported Coligny and his party, had better hold herself in readiness to take any necessary steps against the Popish league, which France, Spain, Savoy, and Rome had organised against the Reformation. Accordingly, on the 21st of July, Sir Henry Sydney arrived at Holyrood, with the Queen's message to Mary.—The promised interview was put off until the following summer. Fearing to see her, they gave the message to Lord James and Maitland, who broke the

news to their mistress. "With watery eyes" she listened, then burst into a violent passion, and "kept her bed all that day." The next morning she told Sir Henry Sydney she was satisfied to wait, "convinced of the good-will of her loving sister."

## CHAPTER XII.

Intrigues of the Princes of Lorraine—Lord James receives the Lands of Murray—Mary visits the Earl of Huntly—Death of the Earl—Execution of his Son—Thus the Congregation gathered Strength—The Protestant Preachers dispute with the Romish Clergy—Knox and the Abbot of Crossraguel—Knox Minister of St Giles—Queen Elizabeth and Mary—The Recognition of the Queen of Scots' Claim to the English Throne discussed—Difficulties connected with the Romish Ecclesiastics—Mary's Interview with Knox—They part apparently good Friends—The first Parliament since the Queen's Arrival—Dress and Manners discussed, and Graver Matters too—Parliament refuses to ratify the Acts in favour of the Reformation passed by the previous Parliament—Knox addresses the Lords from St Giles' Pulpit—Another Meeting between the Queen and Knox—No flattering Words from Mary this time.

BUT Mary was not satisfied, and her uncles, the Guises, advised her to throw off the mask, and openly befriend the Catholics. To this she was well inclined, had such a course been practicable. But it was not ; and so averse were the common people to everything Romish, that when a Jesuit, with a secret message from the Pope, arrived, the Queen was afraid to see him openly ; and Maitland, who was no longer true either to England or the Reformation, managed the matter, and admitted him into the Queen's presence whilst the Protestant nobles were at church.

However, the sermon was short, and Lord James, coming suddenly into the ante-chamber, the Papal envoy was almost detected. As it was, in the hurry of smuggling him away, Randolph was sure he saw "a strange visage," and Lord James acknowledged that his sister had deceived him—that after all Knox had been right. The messenger, who was a bishop, narrowly escaped with his life.

Early this year, Lord James was made Lieutenant of the Border, and at the same time the Queen gave him the lands of Murray, hitherto illegally held by the Earl of Huntly. The Earl refused to part with them, and Lord James, determined to punish him, carried Mary off to the north, to visit him in his stronghold, and force him either to submission or open rebellion. It is difficult to understand Mary's reason for consenting to this plan, but she set off in high spirits. "Whether," says Knox, "there was an agreement between the Papists of the north and the Papists of the south, or, to speak more plainly, between Huntly and the Queen, is not known, but suspicion is wondrous vehement that no good was borne to the Earl of Murray."

On the 31st of August 1562, they reached Aberdeen, and there the Queen received Huntly's invitation to visit him at Strathbogie, "the fairest and best house in all the country." But just then the Earl was shielding his son, Lord John Gordon, a murderer and a rebel, who had escaped from prison; and Mary's reply was a command that he should be delivered up:

to justice. Lord John did not appear, and Mary passed on to Inverness, the stronghold of the clan. Murray, acting for his sovereign, ordered the gates to be opened; the captain on guard refused, and was the next day "hanged over the battlements." After this display of power, Murray retraced his steps. As they passed along the Spey, a thousand Gordons lay in wait to intercept the Queen, but when she approached, their courage failed, and they dispersed. Mary then returned to Aberdeen, whence Murray sent a messenger to inform Huntly that "the court would remain there until Lord John surrendered or was taken." His patience was sorely tried—a fortnight passed, and no result. Once the Earl was almost made prisoner, but he "scrambled over a low wall, without boot or sword," and escaped. In revenge, Lord John surprised a party of the Queen's guard, and cut them to pieces. The Earl himself fled to Badenoch, "where neither men nor guns could be taken in winter." Had he stayed there, Murray might have taken a lease of his lodging in Aberdeen, but, deceived by a report that the Queen's escort had been bribed, the Earl came down from his hiding-place, with seven hundred men. A bog, called Corrichie Burn, lay in his way, and as he and his men were ploughing through it, they were surrounded by Murray, Morton, and Grange. Two hundred were killed; the Earl and his sons, Lord John and Lord Adam Gordon, were made prisoners. As Huntly was carried off, "being set on horseback before him



that was his taker, he suddenly fell from his horse, stark dead, without word that ever he spoke." And thus perished the head of the Romish party—the bitter enemy of Murray.

Lord Adam, being only seventeen years old, was pardoned, Lord John was beheaded in the market-place at Aberdeen. "The Queen took no pleasure in the victory, and gloomed at the messenger who told of it;" nevertheless, Randolph says she thanked God for having delivered her enemy into her hand. Her brother compelled her to witness the execution, while "Maitland," says Knox, "remembered that there was a God in heaven," and spoke upon His retributive justice. On the 21st of November, Mary returned to Edinburgh.

Thus everything seemed to favour the strengthening of the Congregation in Scotland: the fall of Huntly, the Queen's continued partiality for Murray, the favour she showed to Protestants, and the fact, as Randolph assured Cecil, that the Queen "heard almost as seldom from France as the King of Muscovy." But with all these fair appearances, Mary never gave her heart to the Protestants, and after Huntly's death she openly expressed her hope that "before a year was expired the mass would be restored throughout the kingdom."

Thus encouraged, the Popish clergy preached more boldly than they had of late ventured to do, and even challenged the Reformed ministers to dispute with them. Foremost among them was the

abbot of Crossraguel, Quintin Kennedy, who had in 1561 written in defence of the mass. After reading in his chapel some passages from his book respecting the mass, purgatory, prayers to saints, the worship of images, &c., he said he was ready to defend what he had read before the whole congregation on the following Sunday. Knox, hearing of the challenge, sent a messenger to tell the abbot that he would come on the appointed day, and dispute with him. The abbot, not relishing this proposal, stayed at home; Knox kept the appointment, and, finding the pulpit empty, preached. A paper war between him and Kennedy followed, and closed by arranging for a public dispute to take place on a given day, at eight o'clock in the morning, at the house of the provost of Maybole. At this meeting forty persons on each side were to be present, besides notaries, to report the proceedings.

The day came—Knox proposed to begin with prayer; the abbot objected; but Knox carried his point, and when his prayer closed, Kennedy confessed it was “well said.” A discussion followed, and the next day, and the next, left it unfinished; but the audience, worn out, declared they could remain no longer, and Knox proposed to finish the debate at Ayr; it was, however, not resumed. The Romish party claimed the victory; but Knox, who wrote a minute account of the proceedings, proved that they had no right to it. Other disputes followed, with simi-

lar results. The Romish religion was never benefited by open discussion.

From the year 1560 Knox had been the officiating minister of St Giles, in which church three thousand persons often assembled to hear him. His habit was to preach twice every Sunday, and three times in the course of each week. He was never absent from his weekly kirk-session, or from the meeting in his neighbourhood for the study of Scripture. He was also a punctual attendant upon the provincial Synod and General Assembly, and frequently preached in the more distant parts of the country. Hitherto the only help he had was that of his reader, John Cairns. But now, seeing the work was too much for him, arrangements were made to divide it between him and the minister of the Canongate, John Craig, formerly a Dominican, who entered upon this duty June 1563. Calvin's "Institutes" had been the means of Craig's conversion. He had not long been minister of Canongate, when he was chosen to be Knox's colleague. We now go back a little.

In October 1562, Queen Elizabeth was attacked by small-pox, and for many days lay apparently at the point of death. The day before she became ill she wrote a letter to Mary, full of affection, it is true, but not saying one word about the subject nearest to Mary's heart, the coveted recognition. Months rolled over; and in February it was rumoured, upon the authority of the clerk of the English Council, that when Eliza-

beth was believed to be dying, and the succession question was discussed by her ministers, "only one voice had been raised" for the Queen of Scots. Further, it was expected that in the Parliament about to meet, Mary was "to be debarred from the succession."

Tortured by suspense, she sent Maitland to London, "to demand access to the Parliament House, and declare her title before the Estates of the realm;" and if the Lords and Commons refused to entertain it, he was "to tell them plainly that his mistress would seek her remedy elsewhere."

Parliament met early in 1563. Mary's claim was not discussed, and apparently the two queens remained upon friendly terms; but Knox as much as ever distrusted Mary, having "no hope," Randolph said, "that she would ever come to God, or do good in the commonwealth."

But, in truth, considering her character, education, and religion, Mary's difficulties were many. The violence of Knox and his brethren kept her in a constant fret. Knox, in particular, never could forget the fact that the mass was celebrated at the palace, and his attacks had often "more zeal than charity" in them. However, "strong words used in honest controversy should not be misjudged. Out of the heat a viper may come forth; but we shake it off, and feel no harm."

And now the Romish ecclesiastics added to her troubles. Disregarding her repeated proclamations

to the contrary, mass had been openly celebrated at Easter in different parts of the country. Upon this the Protestants in the west, the most zealous of the party, took the law into their own hands, seized some priests, and sent word to the clergy in general, that henceforth they would not take the trouble of complaining to either Queen or Council, but "would execute upon idolaters the punishment contained in God's Word." Mary, in alarm, sent for Knox. She received him kindly at Lochleven, and for two hours before supper remonstrated with him. He told her plainly that if she treated the Protestants well, they would conduct themselves peaceably; but "if she thought to elude them, he feared there were some who would let the Papists understand that they should not offend with impunity. Samuel," he continued, "spared not to slay Agag, whom Saul had saved, nor did Elias spare Jezebel's prophets, nor the priests of Baal, although king Ahab stood by." These examples, he argued, proved that it was "lawful" for subjects to punish "those who sinned against God, when princes failed to do so." But he besought the Queen not to drive her subjects to extremity, but to administer the laws herself. "Think, madam," he concluded, "think of the mutual contract, and the mutual duties between yourself and your subjects. They are bound to obey you. You are bound to keep the laws unto them. You crave of them service—they demand of you protection and defence against wicked doers." Mary at first seemed offended at his words, but the next day

she sent again for Knox, as she was going out hawking. Her manner was friendly, almost confidential. No mention was made of the conversation of the previous day. Alluding to the intended election of a superintendent for Dumfries, at which Knox was to have a vote, she warned him against one of the candidates, the Bishop of Caithness, saying, "If you knew him as well as I do, you would not promote him to that office, nor to any other within your Kirk." He replied that, "if the bishop did not fear God, many were deceived by him." "Well," replied the Queen, "do as you will ; but he is a dangerous man."

Knox was about to go, when the Queen begged him to stay, as she wanted his advice in a matter of great importance. She alluded to the fact, which was no secret to Knox, that there had been some disagreement between the Earl and Countess of Argyle. Knox replied, that he thought that was at an end. "Not so," said the Queen ; "it is more than you think, and, I pray you, *for my sake*, try to put them at unity." Then, changing the conversation, she told him that she would do as he asked her the previous evening, "summon offenders, and minister justice." "I am assured," he replied, "that if ye do, ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which to your majesty is more profitable than all the Pope's power can be." Before parting, the Queen showed him a ring which Lord Ruthven had sent her ; but, she could not, she said, "love that nobleman ;" she knew that "he used enchantment."

Mary was a skilful dissembler. When she had an object to gain, she cared not how low she stooped to conquer. Having failed to subdue Knox by fear, she tried what flattery might do, and hence arose her condescension. She partly succeeded. Knox wrote to Argyle, and thus incurred his displeasure; and he postponed the election of a superintendent for Dumfries until he should make further inquiries about the Bishop of Caithness. The report which he gave of the Queen's gracious manner to himself, and of her promise to see "justice duly administered," considerably raised her popularity.

Nor was this promise forgotten. On the 19th of May, the bishop of St Andrews, the prior of Whit-horn, the parson of Sanquhar, and others of the principal Papists, were arraigned before Argyle, the Justice-General, for the crime of celebrating mass. They pleaded guilty, and were imprisoned.

But this was only a stroke of policy. The Queen had some measures to carry in Parliament, for which she needed the support of the Protestants, and it was therefore advisable to keep them in good humour. When Parliament dissolved, the prisoners were set at liberty.

Parliament now met. It was the first held since the Queen's arrival, and the display was magnificent. Mary, surrounded by her nobles, rode in procession to the Tolbooth, where the Estates assembled. The sitting members filled the hall, while the royal household, in their splendid dresses, stood around the



throne, or occupied the galleries. The Queen's speech, written in French, but spoken in English, astonished her people, as much as her grace and beauty delighted them; and many exclaimed, "May God save that sweet face! She speaks as properly as the best orator among them."

But the "French manners and extravagant dresses of the foreigners" offended the Puritans; and, says Knox, "they spake boldly against the superfluity of clothes, and affirmed that the vengeance of God would fall, not only on the foolish women, but on the whole realm"—a remark as suited to the "foolish women" of the nineteenth century as to those of the sixteenth. There is no new thing under the sun! To check this evil, "articles against apparel" were drawn up, but they did not become law.

A more serious subject was also discussed. The treaty of peace made in July 1560 had established the Protestant religion in Scotland, and it was necessary that this, the Queen's first Parliament, should ratify that treaty, as the Queen had repeatedly declared that the Acts of the former Parliament were invalid, and, if that were the case, the Protestants were at the mercy of their sovereign, and might again be called upon to submit to Popery, or resist at their peril. The Reformed party fully estimated their perilous position; but, fascinated by the Queen, and dreading to incur her displeasure, hoping, too, that the imprisonment of the Romish ecclesiastics, just mentioned, was the precursor of further justice,

they, in an evil hour, let slip the only favourable opportunity which offered in Mary's reign for the legal recognition of the Reformed faith as the established religion of Scotland.

When these details reached Knox, he thought them too bad to be true; nevertheless he demanded an interview with the Protestant leaders, and implored of them by every consideration, public and private, not to allow Parliament to dissolve without ratifying the Acts of the preceding Parliament. The Lords replied, that there was no use in pressing the matter then, but that the Queen would soon marry, and then she would grant their wish. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," thought Knox, and persisted in his demand. Lord James still declared the attempt would be most impolitic. "The Queen," he said, "had kept her promise, the Reformed religion was established, the mass-mongers were punished." Knox grew angry, and hinted that Lord James trembled for his new earldom of Murray, which had not yet been confirmed, and accused him of "sacrificing truth to convenience, and the service of his God to the interests of his ambition." These words cut Murray to the heart, and he replied with haughty bitterness. Thus the two friends parted. A letter from Knox to Murray a few days after widened the breach. "I praise my God," he said, "I leave you victor over your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in authority with your sovereign. Should this continue, none will be more glad than I;

but if you decay, (as I fear ye shall,) then call to mind by what means the Most High exalted you. It was neither by trifling with impiety, nor maintaining pestilent Papists." For two years Knox and Murray scarcely spoke to each other. The Queen was gratified, and others, too, by this variance, and "failed not," says Knox, to "cast oil into the flame, until God did quench it by the water of affliction."

Rising to the exigency of the times, strong in the confidence that God was with him, though all men should forsake him, Knox, before the dissolution of Parliament sent the nobility to their homes, addressed the greater number of them from the pulpit of St Giles. "God's mercies,—their ingratitude," was his theme. He was "no stranger" to them, he said; he had been with them in the hour of deepest temptation; that time had passed, and he was now with them in the days of their "success and their forgetfulness." His heart was full, and to pour out its sorrows, to remind them of "the perils they had escaped," of the "duties they had neglected," was a relief. "I see," said he, stretching out his arms as if a vision passed before him, "I see before me the beleaguered camp at St Johnston. I see your meeting on Couper Muir; I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh; and, most of all, is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eyes, in which all of you, my Lords, in shame and fear, left this town—and God forbid I should ever forget it; what was then, I say, my ex-

hortation unto you? And what is fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth? Speak, I say, for ye yourselves live to testify. There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened, who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? And is this to be the thankfulness ye shall render unto your God, to betray His cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The Queen says ‘ye will not agree with her.’ Ask of her that which by God’s Word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds, forsake not your former courage in God’s cause, and be assured He will prosper you in your enterprises. And now, my Lords,” he concluded, “to put an end to all, I hear of the Queen’s marriage—dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best gain. But this, my Lords, will I say, note the day, and bear witness hereafter. Whenever the nobility of Scotland who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our Sovereign, ye do as far as in ye lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm, and to bring God’s vengeance on the country.”

“These words,” says Knox, “and this manner of speaking were judged intolerable.” Protestants as well as Papists condemned them, and many of his intimate friends shunned his company. The Queen,

being informed that Knox had preached against her marriage, commanded him to appear before her. Lord Ochiltree and several other Lords accompanied him to Holyrood; but Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus, was the only person admitted with him into the royal presence.

No smiles or flattering words greeted his entrance. "Never had prince been handled," Mary passionately exclaimed, "as he had handled her. She had borne his severest censures, his most bitter speeches against herself and her uncles; she had sought his favour, offered him audience when he pleased to admonish her, and yet," said she, bursting into tears, "I cannot be quit of you." When her passion had a little cooled, Knox defended himself, protesting that he had no desire to offend her Grace, but to speak the truth. Out of the pulpit, he said he believed few had reason to complain of him; but in the pulpit he was not his own master, but must obey *His* commands who had bade him speak plain, and flatter no flesh."

"But what have you to do with my marriage?" asked the Queen, repeating the question before Knox could answer it, "or what are you in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same," he answered, "and albeit, madam, neither baron, lord, nor belted earl, yet hath God made me, how abject soever in your eyes, a useful and profitable member. As such, it is my duty, as much as that of any one of the nobility, to forewarn the people of danger, and

therefore what I have said in public, I here repeat to your own face.—Whenever the nobility of this realm shall so far forget themselves, as to consent that you shall be subject to an unlawful husband, they do, as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, betray the freedom of the realm, and, perchance, may be but cold friends to yourself.”

A fresh burst of tears was the Queen’s reply, while she commanded Knox to leave her presence. He obeyed, and passed into the outer room, shunned and avoided, as “one whom men had never seen.” Lord Ochiltree alone seemed to recognise him. Unmoved and unembarrassed by their coldness, and seeing some ladies of the court sitting near, clad in rich apparel, he could not leave them without a word of warning. “Ah, fair ladies,” he said, half jest, half earnest, “how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then, in the end, we might pass to heaven in this gear! But fie on that knave Death, that will come whether ye will or not; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, pearl, nor precious stones.”

While he spoke, the laird of Dun came from the Queen to tell him he might go home, and it does not appear that Mary took any further notice of the matter. She wished to have the judgment of the Council as to whether Knox’s words were treasonable, but was induced to give up the idea. “And so,” says Knox, “that storm quieted in appearance, but never in heart.”

## CHAPTER XIII.

Coolness between Knox and Murray—Knox convinced that Mary meditates Marrying a foreign Prince of her own Religion, and protests against it—Mary travels through Scotland with her “Idol,” the Mass—Elizabeth advises the Queen to marry Dudley—She prefers Darnley—Knox objects to a Papist—Lennox returns to Scotland—Randolph dines with him, and describes the Entertainment to Cecil—Elizabeth’s Latin Note to Cecil—The Mass at Holyrood—Alarm of the Protestants—Knox’s “Circular” brings him into trouble—Knox and the Queen—The Lords acquit him—The Bishop of Ross goes with the Stream—The Queen despises him—Meeting of the General Assembly—Knox defends his “Circular”—Knox marries the daughter of Lord Ochiltree—Mary’s Letter to the Pope—Complaints of the Protestants—Maitland advises Knox to Moderate his Language.

MAITLAND returned from his embassy to England, full of indignation against Knox for the reports which he had circulated concerning the Scottish Queen’s marriage with a prince of Spain. Such rumours, he said, excited the jealousy of Elizabeth, and awoke unworthy suspicions concerning their Queen in the hearts of the Protestant party.

Taking advantage of the coolness between Knox and Murray, Maitland publicly insinuated evil respecting the former, and thus widened the breach between the more cautious Protestants and their



bolder brethren. The root of this bitterness was probably Maitland's jealousy of Knox, who, being a correspondent of Cecil's, procured information both from England and the Continent, which made him more than a match for the wily Secretary. "Who is able to stand before envy?"

Notwithstanding repeated declarations to the contrary, Knox was convinced that a marriage between Mary and some foreign prince of her own religion was in contemplation both in Scotland and on the Continent. To Cecil he wrote, full of alarm, and assured him that out of Mary's council of twelve, nine had been gained over to "that which in the end would prove their destruction." Everything, he said, depended upon the firmness of Murray. Scotland would sink or swim with him. For himself he had no fear, and was prepared for the worst. But for his country he trembled—rivers of water ran down his eyes because of the calamities which threatened her. The Queen, he said, had been travelling through the country, and carried her "idol" with her, and "the conveying of the mass through those quarters which longest had been reformed had dejected the hearts of many, and caused him to disclose the plainness of a troubled heart."

Elizabeth now took the matter of Mary's marriage in hand, and looked out for a suitable husband for her. What better could she do for her "dear sister" than propose her own special favourite, the Lord Robert Dudley? but his name was not to be uttered.

Maitland and Murray were "to sound" the Scottish Queen upon the subject. They declined so delicate a matter, and under various pretexts, withdrew. But Elizabeth was in earnest in at least naming Dudley, and Cecil approved of the plan, to rid Elizabeth herself of so disgraceful a companion; and Randolph mentioned him to Mary in the presence of Maitland and Murray as being recommended to her by the Queen of England, who expected her to decide speedily. "Your own Queen has been longer deciding than I have," replied Mary; "and think you I shall marry one of her subjects?" Randolph obscurely hinted something about the succession; Mary caught at it, and asked, "Where is my assurance?" The matter went no further; for, as Dr Robertson observes, "a treaty of marriage proposed by one Queen, who dreaded its success, listened to by another, who was secretly determined against it, and scarcely desired by the man himself whose interest and reputation it was calculated in appearance to promote, could not, under so many unfavourable circumstances, be brought to a fortunate issue."

Though the Scottish Queen had protested respecting Dudley that she would not marry a subject of Elizabeth's, she overlooked that difficulty in favour of another subject of England, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, who, having been outlawed, had only lately received permission from Mary to return to Scotland. If the negotiation about her marriage with Don Carlos

failed, her friends in England wished her to marry Darnley. The plan secretly pleased Elizabeth, though she warned Mary that the alliance might prove fatal to her, as it could not fail to revive the old feud between the Earl of Lennox and the house of Hamilton.

As both Lennox and his son were Romanists, the Protestants were thunderstruck at the prospect of the Earl's return. Knox told Randolph his fears, by whom they were communicated to Elizabeth, who, glad of a pretext for delaying any negotiation on the subject of Mary's marriage with Dudley, eagerly caught at this new vexation to weave a more intricate web. She therefore detained Darnley in England, and desired Cecil to persuade Murray and Maitland to ask Mary to revoke her promise to Lennox, and forbid his return to his native land. They refused to meddle in the matter. Letter followed letter, sharp words were used on both sides, and Maitland broadly hinted that Knox was at the bottom of all the plotting to keep Lennox away, in which, said he, "he hath followed his own passion, being nothing privy to our intents, abusing our names on a purpose which we do not allow."

Alluding to Knox's fears regarding the effect which the return of Lennox might produce upon religion, Maitland said: "The religion doth not depend upon my Lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeves of any one or two that may mislike his coming." Somewhat in the same

spirit, but more emphatic, Murray thus wrote to Cecil: "As to the faction that his coming might make for the matters of religion, thanks to God, our foundation is not so weak that we have cause to fear, if he had the greatest subject of this realm joined to him, seeing we have the favour of our prince and liberty of conscience in such abundance as our hearts can wish. It can neither be he nor I, praised be God, can hinder or alter religion here, and his coming or remaining in that cause will be to small purpose." At the same time Mary received a letter from Elizabeth, which so offended her, that she replied in a spirited but irritating tone. Elizabeth laid the letter aside, to be answered at her leisure.

And so, after all, the Queen of England was obliged to allow Lennox to return to Scotland, and on the 23d of September 1564, he arrived in Edinburgh, the bearer of a letter, in which Elizabeth warmly recommended him to Mary.

Mary was absent when he arrived. Upon her return, the end of the month, she invited him to court. His style was princely as he rode to Holyrood, preceded by twelve gentlemen splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet; a troop of thirty attendants, bearing his arms and livery, followed. The Queen graciously received him in the presence of her lords, and wrote to tell Elizabeth she had thus shown deference to the request contained in her letter, and that she meant to "proceed further to his restitution, whereby he should be able to enjoy the privileges of

a subject, the liberty of his native country, and his old titles."

Randolph dined with Lennox shortly after his return, and wrote an account of the entertainment to Cecil. "The house was," he said, "well hanged, the chambers very well furnished, one special rich and fair bed where his lordship lieth himself." Among the company were the Earl of Athol, a Roman Catholic, and the Bishop of Caithness, a Protestant. His lordship's "cheer was great," Randolph said, "and the house held many." Lennox gave the Queen "a marvellous rich and fair jewel—a clock with a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking-glass very richly set with stones in the four metals;" to Maitland he gave "a very fair diamond ring, and to Lord Athol another; somewhat to his wife." To my Lord Murray—nothing! To each of the Queen's Marys "such pretty things as he thought fit." Randolph added the news of the day, that "my lady herself, and my Lord Darnley were coming; and this I find," concluded the ambassador, "that there is here marvellous good liking of the young lord, and many that desire to have him." Knox prophesied that "the Lord Bothwell would follow, with power to put in execution whatever was demanded, and that himself and his preaching would be pulled by the ears."

Upon the 23d of September, the very day that Lennox reached Edinburgh, Cecil, being sick in bed, received a note from Elizabeth, written in Latin. "I

am involved in such a labyrinth," she said, "regarding the reply to the letter of the Queen of Scots, that I know not how I can satisfy her, having delayed all this time sending her any answer, and now really being totally at a loss what I must say. Find me out," continued the Queen, "some good excuse, which I may plead in the despatches to be given to Randolph, and let me know your opinion in this matter?" Elizabeth, in school-boy phraseology, was in "a regular fix." What of the Reformation all this time?

While Mary was on her northern tour during the summer, the members of her household who remained at Holyrood, taking advantage of her absence, performed mass with unusual publicity. At the same time, superstitious practices, which had been laid aside, were revived at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The Protestants, in alarm, went to the palace, to see who took part in those services. The numbers startled them, and, losing all self-control, they rushed into the chapel, and asked the officiating priest how he "durst be so malapert" as to celebrate mass during her majesty's absence?

The mistress of the household, in alarm, sent for assistance to Edinburgh. Down came magistrates and a guard, but all was quiet before they arrived. The Queen, however, hearing of the disturbance, declared she would not return to Edinburgh until two Protestants, whom she specified, were punished "for forethought felony, and invasion of the palace." Knox, in right of a commission which he had re-

ceived from the Church, wrote a circular letter to the leading Protestants, requesting their attendance at the trial. A copy of this letter fell into the hands of the Bishop of Ross, president of the Court of Session, who, being a bitter enemy to Knox, sent it to the Queen to Stirling. Her Majesty pronounced it treasonable, and ordered the writer to appear before a special meeting of her counsellors, to be held in Edinburgh towards the end of December.

Meanwhile many attempts were made to induce Knox to acknowledge he had erred by this interference. Lord Maxwell, his intimate friend, told him he would repent of it when too late. Knox did not understand such language, and said he had never opposed the Queen, except when she opposed the will of God. "If God stood by him," which he felt sure He would do, so long as he confided in Him, and preferred His glory to his own life, he cared little, he said, for man's praise or condemnation. "Nothing will save you from the Queen's wrath," said Maitland, in a private conference, "but timely submission;" to which Knox replied, "he would never confess a fault when he was conscious of none,"—that he had "not yet learned to cry treason at everything which the multitude called treason, nor to fear what they feared."

Seeing him determined not to yield, Maitland put questions to Knox, by which to discover the line of defence he meant to take. Knox declined to satisfy him, thinking it "foolish to speak of his defence to



one who had already passed sentence upon him as guilty."

The day came—the prisoner stood at the bar, crowds filled the palace-yard—every avenue to which was thronged by those anxious to learn the result of the trial. The Queen took her seat, surrounded by her Lords; glancing at Knox, she said, laughing as she spoke, "That man made me weep, and shed never a tear himself; it is my turn now to make him weep."

Maitland opened the proceedings by a speech, stating the cause of the trial. "Let him acknowledge his own handwriting," interrupted the Queen, "and then we shall judge of the contents of the letter." A copy of the circular being handed to Knox, he acknowledged the signature as his, adding that he had signed many blanks, but that without reading the letter handed to him, he unhesitatingly acknowledged the contents as well as the signature, having implicit confidence in the fidelity of his scribe. "You have done more than I would have done," said Maitland. "Charity is not suspicious," replied Knox. "Read your letter," cried the Queen, "and then answer the questions put to you." "I will do the best I can," said Knox; and, having read it, he returned it to the Queen's solicitor, who then read it aloud. "Heard you ever, my Lords," said the Queen, "a more treasonable letter?" "Are you not sorry from your heart," asked Maitland, "that ever you wrote such a letter, which from you has come to the know-

ledge of others?" "My Lord Secretary," replied Knox, "before I repent, I must be shown my offence." "The offence cannot be denied," said the Secretary, "were it only the convocation of the Queen's lieges." "Then," said Knox, "if I am guilty now in calling a convocation, I have often been guilty of the same since I came last into Scotland; for what convocation of the brethren has ever been to this hour, unto which my pen served not?" "Then was then, and now is now," cried Maitland. "We do not now have such convocations as in times past." "The time that has been is even now before my eyes," replied Knox; "for I see the poor flock in no less danger than it has been at any time before, except that the devil has got a vizor upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, discerned by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry; and then, I think, you will confess the brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives; and now the devil comes under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength." "What is this?" cried the Queen impatiently; "methinks you trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason?" "No, madam," replied Lord Ruthven, "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayers and sermons almost daily; and whatever your Grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason." "Hold your peace," said the Queen; "let him answer for himself."

"I began, madam," said Knox, "to reason with the Secretary, that all convocations are not unlawful, and now my Lord Ruthven has given the instance." The Queen then disclaimed all intention to attack his religion, but persisted that he had no right to call convocations without her command. "Then," replied Knox, "your Grace must make that objection against everything that I have done to promote the Reformation in Scotland," adding, that if, in the calling of such assemblies, his activity had exceeded that of his brethren, it was because he had received a special commission from the Church to do so when necessary.

"You shall not thus escape," exclaimed the Queen; and, turning to the Lords, she asked, "Is it not treason, my Lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there be Acts of Parliament against such whisperers." Some of the Council said there were such laws. "But wherein can I be accused of this," asked Knox. "Read this part of your letter," replied the Queen, marking the sentence. Knox read—"This fearful summons is directed against them, (the two Protestants who hath been indited,) to make, no doubt, a preparative on a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude." "What say you to that?" cried the Queen, sure of her prey. All eyes were fixed upon Knox, as he asked, "Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself, or shall I be condemned unheard?" "Say what you can," said the Queen, "and methinks it

won't be much." "First, then, madam," replied Knox, "I would ask your Grace and this honourable audience, whether it is not a matter well proved that the Papists are deadly enemies to all who profess the Gospel of Jesus Christ?"

Mary was silent, and the Lords, with one voice, exclaimed, "God forbid that ever the lives of the faithful, or yet the staying of the doctrine, stood in the power of the Papists! for experience has taught us what cruelty is in their hearts." "All will therefore grant," continued Knox, "that it was a barbarous thing to destroy such a multitude as professed the Gospel within this realm, the which has been done more than once or twice. And think you, my Lords," he asked, "that the insatiable cruelty of the Papists (within this realm, I mean) shall end in the murdering of these two brethren now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? and therefore, madam, cast up when you list the Acts of your Parliament, I have offended nothing against them; for I accuse not in my letter your Grace, nor yet your nature, of cruelty. But I affirm yet again, that the pestilent Papists who have inflamed your Grace against these poor men at this present are the sons of the devil, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and manslayer from the beginning."

Called to order by the Chancellor, who reminded him that he was not now "in the pulpit," Knox answered that he was "in a place where conscience

required him to speak truth, and, therefore," said he, "the truth I speak, impugn it whoso list." Then, addressing the Queen, he said, changing his voice, that "persons whose nature was honest, gentle, and meek, had often been corrupted by wicked advice; that the Papists were dangerous counsellors, and such her mother had found them."

Seeing that the trial was going against her, the Queen changed her tactics, and reproached Knox for his harshness at their last interview. "Now," she said, "he speaks fair enough before the Lords; but then he made me shed many a salt tear, and set not by my weeping."

In justice to himself, Knox gave the details of that interview; after which the Secretary spoke for a few minutes with the Queen, and then told him he might retire. "I thank God and the Queen's majesty," said Knox, and withdrew.

The Lords having consulted together, all, except the immediate dependents upon the Court, declared their opinion, that Knox had not been guilty of any breach of the laws. This decision enraged Maitland, and he brought the Queen back into the Council chamber, to take the votes a second time. "What!" cried the Lords indignantly, "shall the Lord of Lethington have power to control us? and shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and condemn an innocent man against our conscience?" They then confirmed the vote already given, and added their opinion, that Knox, while defending

himself, had acted with "modesty and sound judgment."

The Bishop of Ross, the informer, not having strength to swim against the stream, voted with the rest, for which the Queen taunted him, saying, "Trouble not the child! I pray you, trouble him not! for he is newly wakened out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of those who passed before him?" To which the Bishop replied, that her majesty might be well assured "his vote was not influenced by partiality to the person accused."

"That night," says Knox, "there was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court; for madam was disappointed of her purpose, which was to have had John Knox in her will, by vote of her nobility."

The Queen's wrath was cruel; those who had voted in the Reformer's favour, among whom was Murray, and those who, through voting against him, had failed to procure his condemnation, were made to feel it. Among the latter was Maitland, whose double-dealing had gained him, so far, nothing but want of confidence from both parties.

Mary's courtiers now renewed their efforts to induce Knox to humble himself before her; a few words of submission, they said, would do. But not one would he utter, convinced that he would thus "throw discredit upon the judgment of the nobility, who had acquitted him, and confess that he himself had been

a mover of sedition." Failing in this, they published false reports, saying that his circular was an unwarrantable act upon his part, an effort to rule the Scottish Church in the very spirit of Papal oppression. It was well known that these charges were untrue. Knox had his faults, but the desire to assume unlawful authority was not amongst them.

The General Assembly met at the close of the year. Before it broke up, Knox, who had taken no part in its proceedings, requested permission to speak upon a matter which concerned himself. This being granted, he entered into details respecting his circular, the reasons for its being written, his trial because of it, and the surmises which were still afloat, to the injury of his character. He then demanded that the Church should examine the whole matter, and acquit or condemn him, as she thought fit. To this course the courtiers objected; but it was adopted, and the Assembly, by a large majority, declared that Knox had not exceeded the powers given him, which authorised him, whenever he saw danger threatening their religion, to give notice to his brethren, and ask their assistance.

On the 18th of March this year, Randolph communicated a piece of intelligence to Cecil, which surprised many—"Knox asked in church," he said, "to be married to Margaret Stewart, the daughter of the Lord Ochiltree." The *good* Lord Ochiltree, as he was called, he being, it was said, "a man rather born to make peace than to brag upon the calsey."



Popish writers condemn this marriage as a proof of the Reformer's ambition, Lord Ochiltree being allied to the royal family ; they also say he won the lady's heart by sorcery and the assistance of the devil. She, however, proved a good and faithful wife, and outlived her husband.

In accordance with the instructions given to Mary when leaving France, she maintained a constant correspondence with the Romish princes and rulers upon the Continent, for the furtherance of Popery. In a letter to the Council of Trent, dated the 18th of March 1564, she lamented "that the situation of her affairs did not permit her to send some of her prelates to that Council, and assured them of her great and unalterable devotion to the apostolic See ;" and in January of the same year, she begged the Cardinal of Lorraine to assure the Pope of her resolution to live and die a Catholic. And again, a few days after, she wrote herself to the Pope, "lamenting the damnable errors" in which she found her subjects plunged, and informing him that, from the time she left France, her intention had uniformly been to "re-establish the ancient religion."

It is not therefore surprising that, throughout the year 1564, complaints against the increase of idolatry were renewed in the General Assemblies of the Church, and lamentable statements made concerning the poverty of the clergy. The Queen's reply was more than usually satisfactory to the Protestant party. But, was she sincere? Did she mean what

she said? Could her promises be relied upon? Past experience suggested the doubt. Her bigoted attachment to Romanism was well known; and since her arrival in Scotland, she had never once consented to hear a preacher of the Reformed faith. The protection which she had extended to the Protestant religion was, in her own words, to be "until she should take some final order in the matter of religion."

But while the Queen was all zeal and energy, the Protestants were slow to observe the signs of the times. Many of the Lords were engaged about the court, breathing an atmosphere little conducive to spiritual watchfulness. Disunion in the camp followed; the liberty of speech in which Knox and others indulged in the pulpit was condemned by the courtiers as insolent and disrespectful, while defended by Knox and his party as necessary for the times. Maitland, in a meeting of the General Assembly, publicly accused Knox of teaching seditious doctrine, encouraging subjects to revolt against rulers who failed in their duty towards their people. Knox, in reply, denied not, but justified what he had said; a debate followed, in which the character and peculiar talents of the disputants, "the acuteness of Maitland, embellished with learning, but prone to subtlety, the vigorous understanding of Knox, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear," stand out conspicuously.

Maitland courteously entreated Knox to be more

cautious in the manner in which he spoke of the Queen from the pulpit—not that he feared his saying anything improper, but because persons “less modest and prudent,” might, led by his example, take an unwarrantable liberty with her majesty. Knox replied that he was ready to listen to any particular objections which might be urged against what he had said; but he remarked, that in religious matters Scotland was greatly changed since the Queen’s arrival; and that the grievances of which he complained increased rather than diminished: the courtiers must therefore not wonder at his rebuking sins that were openly committed and persisted in.

Coming to particulars, Maitland complained of the manner in which Knox prayed for the Queen: “Ye do so with a condition,” he said, saying, “Illuminate her heart, if Thy good pleasure be. Where have ye example of such prayer?” “Wherever the examples are,” replied Knox, “I am assured of the rule, ‘If we shall ask anything according to His will, He will hear us;’ and Christ commanded us to pray, ‘Thy will be done.’” “But,” said Maitland, “in so doing ye put a doubt in people’s minds as to her conversion.” “Not I, my lord,” replied Knox, “but her own obstinate rebellion causes more than me to doubt her conversion. In all the actions of her life she rebels against God, especially that she will not hear the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and that she maintains the idol of the mass.” “She thinks not that rebellion, but true religion,” said the secretary. “So

thought they who offered their children to Moloch," replied Knox; "and yet the Spirit of God affirms that they offered them to devils."

Knox complained that the Queen refused "admonition" by not listening to Protestant preachers. "She never will," replied Maitland, "while ye entreat her as ye do." "Then," said the Reformer, "so long as she refuses to hear the Gospel, so long must ye be content that I pray so as I may be assured to be heard of my God, either in making her comfortable to His Church, or, if He has appointed her to be a scourge to the same, that we may have patience, and she may be bridled."

Secondly, Maitland objected to the expression, "The bond-slaves of Satan," being applied to kings and princes. "I have not invented it," replied Knox, "but have learned it out of God's Word, as I find these words spoken to St Paul, 'Behold, I send thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Mark the words, my lord," added Knox, "and stir not at the speaking of the Holy Ghost."

Maitland, saying he was tired, desired George Hay, a Protestant, to continue the discussion. Knox, seeing that by this arrangement, minister would oppose minister, and thus bring the charge of diversities of doctrine against the Protestants, told Hay he knew his "learning and modesty," and would willingly reason with him in private, but sorry should he be

to think they opposed each other, "like the scholars of Pythagoras, to show the quickness of their parts by supporting either side of a question." Hay took the hint, and before the whole Assembly declared that his judgment agreed with Knox on the subject proposed for discussion. "Marry," said the disappointed secretary, "ye are the worst of the two ; for I remember our reasoning when the Queen was in Carrick."

Left to his own resources, Maitland continued the dispute, and engaged to "defend the uncontrollable authority of rulers." He stated that in a sermon on the 13th of Romans, Knox had, when speaking upon the necessity for magistrates, and the duty of obeying them, "made a distinction between the persons and the ordinance ;" affirming that men might resist the persons, and yet not offend against God's ordinance, and further, that obedience is not to be rendered to princes if they command unlawful things, but that they may be resisted without thereby incurring guilt.

Knox admitted that he had so argued, and proved his correctness from Scripture:—Jonathan's rescue from the hand of Saul—commended in Scripture ; the slaying of the priests by Doeg, at the command of the King—condemned in Scripture. "And now, my lord," said he "the power in that place (Romans xiii.) is not to be understood of the unjust commandment of men, but of the just power wherewith God has armed His magistrates to punish sin and maintain virtue. To rescue a murderer from the hands of justice,

would be to resist God's ordinance," added Knox; "but for men, in the fear of God, to oppose themselves to the fury and blind rage of princes," he contended, was "not resisting God, but the devil, who abuses the word and the authority of God."

"I understand," said Maitland, "and in part agree with you,—for if the Queen should desire me to slay John Knox because she is offended at him, I would not obey her; but if she commanded others to do so, or yet by a colour of justice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him against the Queen and her officers." "Then, my lord," said Knox, "under protestation that the auditory think not that I speak in favour of myself, I say that if you be persuaded of my innocence, and have the power to deliver me, if you suffer me to perish, you shall be guilty of my blood."

"Prove that!" cried Maitland. Knox did so to his own satisfaction, but not to that of his opponent, who, nevertheless, declared that if the Queen should become a persecutor, he would as readily as any one adopt the Reformer's doctrine. "But," said he, "the question we have to consider is, whether we ought to suppress the Queen's mass, or be chargeable with her idolatry." "Idolatry ought to be suppressed, and the idolater should die the death," replied Knox. "True," said Maitland; "but by whom?" "By the people," said Knox, "for, 'Hear, O Israel, saith the Lord, the statutes and commandments of the Lord thy God.'"

After a long debate, Knox said, addressing the secretary—"And now, my lord, I have but one example to produce, and then I will end my reasoning, for I weary to stand"—the Lords desired him to take a seat, but he refused—and instanced the resistance of the priests to Uzziah, as establishing what he had said in the course of the discussion. "Well," said Maitland, "you will not, I think, have many learned men of your opinion." "Nevertheless, the truth will not cease to be the truth," replied Knox, as he handed the secretary a copy of the "Apology of Magdeburg," telling him to look at the list of those who subscribed their names as approving of the defence of that city against the Emperor; and added, *they* thought not that to resist a tyrant was to resist God. "Men of no note," observed Maitland, handing back the book. "Servants of God, however," replied Knox.

The secretary then proposed that the question should be put to the vote, and that the majority should fix a rule for securing uniformity of doctrine among the ministers. Knox objected—the votes were, however, taken, but were not considered decisive. The registrar then reminded Knox that he had promised to obtain Calvin's opinion upon the subject. He replied that was a mistake, for that his long residence at Geneva had made him well acquainted with Calvin's mind upon that question, and that he could not now ask his opinion without making himself appear either forgetful or inconsistent; but he said, any one who chose could himself write to Calvin.



This was considered reasonable, but no one offered to write.

The conference broke up without coming to any decision upon the question debated. Both parties agreed that idolatry ought to be punished by death in accordance with the judicial laws of Moses, falsely arguing from them that Christian nations are bound to enact similar penalties against offences of the moral law. By whom? was the point of difference. So that the real question at issue was concerning the prerogatives of princes, and the rights and duties of subjects.

Shortly after, Knox was sent by the General Assembly to visit the churches in Aberdeen, and other parts of the north. This occupied him several weeks. He afterwards went on a similar mission to Fife and Perthshire.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Rumours concerning the Marriage of the Queen of Scots with a Papist—Mary sends Sir James Melville to Elizabeth—The Queen likes him; he flatters her vanity—Lord Robert Dudley made Earl of Leicester—The recognition of Mary discussed between Elizabeth and Melville—It leads to no result—Melville returns to Edinburgh—The Queen of Scots seeks Scotland's consent to her Marriage with Darnley—It is not given—Darnley arrives in Edinburgh—Fascinates Mary—Murray refuses his consent—Murray complains to Elizabeth of his trying position, and intreats her to grant the coveted recognition—Mary tries to re-establish the Mass—The Protestants resist—Arrival of the Earl of Bothwell—Opposition to Mary's Marriage—Philip approves it—Riots at Edinburgh—Once more Murray tries to save his Sister from Darnley—The Marriage takes place.

In August 1564, Elizabeth received intelligence from France that “a far other marriage was meant for the Queen of Scots than the Lord Robert; with practices to reduce the realm to the old Pope, and to break the love between England and Scotland.” Parliament was to meet in October, when the succession question and other vexatious matters were to be discussed; and Mary began to repent of her angry letter to Elizabeth, and to think it might be well to conciliate her, lest the recognition of her claim should be further delayed.

Maitland being no longer in Cecil's good graces, Sir James Melville, a skilful intriguer, was called from France to be employed by Mary in "secret service." Being a Protestant, and already known to Elizabeth, he appeared well suited to win her confidence. His instructions were to be merry or grave with the English Queen as occasion dictated, to make friends for Mary at the English court, and arrange with Lady Lennox for her son's return to Scotland. Above all, he was to discover Elizabeth's real wishes respecting the Queen of Scots' marriage with Lord Robert, and her chance of recognition as "second person" to the throne of England.

Melville, preceded by Randolph, left Edinburgh about the end of September. Elizabeth was walking in the garden at Westminster when he met her: it was shortly after the despatch of her Latin note to Cecil, which left her not in the best humour, and almost her first words were of the Queen of Scots' "despiteful letter" to her. She was minded, she said, to answer it by another "as despiteful;" and taking a letter out of her pocket, she read it aloud, and said it should go, only she feared it was too gentle.

Melville was just the man to please and flatter Elizabeth. He soon talked her into good humour, and the "despiteful letter" was not sent. He told her the Queen of Scots felt a warm affection for her; and though Elizabeth trusted Mary no more than Mary trusted her, she appeared to believe all that Melville said, while he knew that every word he

uttered was false, and that his "secret" mission was to the Catholic conspirators. Day after day Mary's marriage was discussed. Sir James said the Queen would refer it to a commission, that Murray and Maitland might meet "Bedford and Lord Robert" about it. "Ah!" said Elizabeth, "you make too little of Lord Robert to name him after Bedford. I mean to make him a greater Earl, and you shall see it done. I take him as my brother and my best friend." As she could not marry him herself, she wished, she said, to give him to her sister, and "that done," she would fear no usurpation before her death—"Dudley was so loving and trusty."

Melville's lively manners and fund of court anecdote delighted Elizabeth, and from the first she admitted him to familiar intercourse. She asked him many questions about Mary—pressing him to say which he admired most, the Queen of Scots or the Queen of England.

On Michaelmas-day Dudley was created Earl of Leicester, Lord Darnley, as nearest prince of the blood, bearing the sword of state. The inauguration took place at Westminster—"herself," says Melville, "helping to put on his ceremonial, he, sitting on his knees before her, keeping a great sobriety and discreet behaviour—the French ambassador and I standing beside her." Elizabeth asked Melville how he liked the new Earl, to which he replied, "he was a worthy subject, and happy in having a princess who could discern and reward good service." "Yet," said she,

well aware of Melville's secret practices and Mary's desire, "you like yonder long lad better," pointing to Darnley as she spoke. Melville laughed, and assured her Majesty that "no woman of spirit could make choice of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man, for he was very beardless and lady-faced." "I had no will," he said of himself, "that she should think I had an eye that way." But Elizabeth was not so easily deceived, though she acted as one determined to blind herself. She now gave directions for an opinion to be drawn out in favour of Mary's title, promised Melville that his mistress's interests should be protected in the ensuing Parliament, and declared her intention to recognise Mary's claim if she would follow her advice upon the subject of marriage. Her own determination, she said, was never to marry, "unless driven to it by the undutiful behaviour of the Scottish Queen." Melville smiled, and shaking his head, said he well knew she never would marry, for that, let the Queen of Scots do what she would, her Majesty would never suffer a commander! "Were you married," he said, "you would be Queen of England, now you are King and Queen both."

Elizabeth said she longed to see Mary. Melville replied, nothing was easier. "Disguise yourself as a page," he said, "and let me carry you secretly into Scotland." "Would that it could be done!" exclaimed the romantic Elizabeth.

The time came when Melville must return home,

and he begged to know what message he should take to his mistress. Elizabeth reproached him with being tired of her company, and laid a plot by which he should hear her play before his departure. It was well arranged. Melville coming as if accidentally into the ante-chamber, heard music. The sound entranced him. Drawing aside the curtain which separated him from the royal chamber, and seeing Elizabeth's back towards him, he ventured to advance a few steps. The Queen suddenly turned her head, and running away, as if ashamed, threatened to strike the intruder with her left hand, saying she was not used to play before men. Melville apologised—explained—pleading in excuse that he had been brought up in a foreign court, where manners were less strict than in England. Elizabeth was satisfied—sat down on a cushion, and while Melville knelt beside her, asked him which, she or Mary, played best. He replied, that undoubtedly in music her Majesty far excelled the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth, delighted, said he should not go until he had seen her dance.

Returning to Scotland, Melville carried with him promises of devoted service from English friends, some of them men of honour, who considered Mary's succession to the English crown necessary to secure the peace of the country. Others tendered their services from selfish motives, not to be losers in the event of a revolution. Amongst the latter was Leicester, upon whose faithful attachment to herself Elizabeth so implicitly confided; whom she regarded as her

protection, when she named Mary, Queen of Scots, as her heir; and now, with many apologies to Melville for his presumption, he declared himself "forced" by "Cecil and his secret enemies" to appear anxious for an alliance with the Scottish Queen. Melville also repeated to Mary Elizabeth's protestations of friendship; but confessed he more than doubted her sincerity, having detected, in conversation with her, "much dissimulation and jealousy."

The meeting of Parliament was postponed from October till spring; and in the interval Mary hoped to obtain Scotland's consent to her marriage with Darnley, while she continued to delude Elizabeth into the belief that she would marry Leicester. Once the young lord was in Scotland she need not be so cautious.

But the Scottish nobles were difficult to manage. Discussion followed discussion, between Randolph, Murray, and Maitland. Murray was too good a Protestant, and Maitland's eye was too simply set upon the union of the two crowns to make either of them relinquish the hope of the Dudley alliance for that of Darnley. By the Protestant party the marriage was understood to mean "a Catholic revolution." "The terrible fear is so entered into their hearts," said Randolph, "that the Queen tendeth only to that, that some are willing to leave the country, others with their force to withstand it, the rest hath patience to endure, and let God work His will."

Reading the account of those times, it seems as if



the two Queens were bent upon deceiving each other, though their ministers proclaimed their sincerity. If they too deceived, it was because they were themselves deceived. Randolph, to the end, assured Cecil that Mary's affection and respect for Elizabeth were genuine, only she longed to feel certain that Elizabeth really wished her to marry Leicester; and her ministers promised, that if their one request was granted—an Act of Parliament passed declaring Mary next heir to the English throne—they would overthrow all "foreign practices" for her marriage, and accomplish the union with Leicester.

In a conversation with Randolph, Mary being asked, "How she liked Lord Robert?" answered, "My mind towards him is such as it ought to be, of a very noble man, as I hear say by many; and such a one as the Queen your mistress, my good sister, does so well like to be *her* husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to dislike me to be *mine*. Marry! what I shall do lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me."

Meanwhile the Earl of Lennox received back all the estates and honours he had forfeited, which favour Mary said she granted partly at the request of the Queen, her "good sister of England." At the same time the Act against the mass was confirmed. Those present at its celebration were to be punished by loss of lands, goods, and even life, "if the Prince should think fit." The Queen and her household alone were exempt from the penalties of the statute.

On the 12th of February 1565, Darnley arrived at Edinburgh, and at once crossed the Frith to visit Mary, who was in Fife. She received him graciously at Wemyss Castle; but he had few friends in Scotland, even the Roman Catholic nobles treated him coldly. Being a Papist, and anxious to please all parties, he, the following Sunday, went to hear Knox preach. That evening there was a ball at the palace. Darnley danced with the Queen.

Though fascinated by Darnley, Mary and her ministers did not forget Leicester, and the long looked-for interview with Elizabeth. It even appeared as if the Queen were becoming more inclined to discuss religious subjects, and Randolph begged her to "take counsel of his sovereign." "This must be," Mary replied, "when I come to England." "When will that be?" asked the ambassador. "Whenever your mistress wishes it," was the answer; "and as to marriage, my husband must be such a one as she will give me." Leicester being named, she said, "Of that matter I will say no more till I see greater likelihood; but no living creature shall make me break more of my will than my good sister, if she will use me as a sister; if not, I must do as I may."

The meeting between the Scotch and English Commissioners and the conference at Berwick, left matters as they found them. And still Elizabeth's demand was,—“Marry as I wish, then you shall see what I will do for you.”—Mary's reply—“Recognise me first as your successor, and I will then be all that you de-

sire." So the two Queens played with each other, and almost broke the hearts of their ministers.

Once more Murray, who felt a vital interest in the settlement of the succession, earnestly implored Randolph to bring it to a conclusion. "If," said he, "the Queen of England will acknowledge the Queen of Scots' title, and hasten her marriage with Leicester, I shall be content to lose, as I must do, much of my honour and power, satisfied with having done my duty." But failure, he said, would be his ruin. For five years he had advised the line of policy which Mary had adopted. She would never believe that when he held out promises to her which he could not realise, he had himself been deceived—not willingly her deceiver. It was he who had induced his sister to desert her old friends, to renounce every foreign alliance in deference to Elizabeth. If she married any one but Leicester, the King, whoever he was, would hate him, knowing that his choice had fallen upon another.

Then, added Murray, if he be a Papist, we must either obey or suffer as rebels, and I the most, as the ringleader of the party. But what need he multiply words? Randolph had "often heard him say as much before;" and yet nothing came of it but "drift of time, delays from day to day, to do all for nothing, and to get nothing for all."

Maitland echoed the same complaint, and besought Cecil to end the matter.

"The Scottish ministers," said Elizabeth, "have

turned the negotiation into a matter of bargain, looking for my death and hunting for a kingdom." But the more Mary pressed her, the more Elizabeth determined in her inmost soul, whatever her language might be, not to grant the recognition, and for a very good reason—the treaty of Edinburgh remained unratified.

Scarcely had Darnley returned when the Queen made an attempt to re-establish the mass, and Murray warned Randolph that if that were the way she meant to act, "things would go harder with her than ever." Mary insisted that her subjects must be free to live as they listed, and the Protestants "offered their lives to be sacrificed before they would suffer such an abomination." Threats followed entreaty, which kindled in Mary's heart a desire to revenge; she must at any cost have the Romish party to favour her marriage with Darnley; but the Lords of the Congregation told her plainly that "if she married a Papist, it would not be borne with."

While matters were in this troubled state, storms threatening from every quarter, the Earl of Bothwell suddenly appeared at Holyrood with the stigma of treason still upon him: no one expected him, no one invited him. What brought him? was the eager inquiry. But some might remember that just a year before, when Randolph was pressing upon Mary, her marrying Lord Robert Dudley, a secret friend advised him not to trust the Scottish Queen; "for" said he, "wheresover she hovers, and how many times soever

she doubles to fetch the wind, I believe she will at length let fall her anchor between Dover and Berwick,\* though, perchance, not in that port, haven, or road that you wish she should."

Randolph now brought Mary a message from Elizabeth,—the settlement of the succession was postponed. The Queen wept bitter tears. Randolph begged to be recalled home.

The Queen's marriage with Darnley being openly spoken of, Chatelherault, Argyle, and Murray warned Randolph that mischief was at the door, and joined themselves in a new bond to defend each other's quarrels.

Mary was little prepared for the opposition she encountered. Darnley had come to the Scottish court not only with the full approbation, but with the warm recommendation of Elizabeth, who had repeatedly declared, that though she would never sanction Mary's marriage to a foreign prince, she was at liberty to choose any English nobleman she pleased. The Queen of Scots therefore might reasonably have relied upon Elizabeth's approbation of the marriage, and as Darnley's title to the throne of England was only second to her own, by a marriage with him she believed she would secure to their children an undoubted title to the English crown. She therefore saw no reason why her own subjects should oppose the union.

When therefore she selected Darnley, Mary ex-

\* Bothwell was then confined in the Tower.

pected the approval of the Queen of England, and of all classes in the State except Knox and his party. As to the objection that he was suspected of being a Papist, she thought that might be overlooked at a time when Romish ceremonies were creeping back into England, when Elizabeth was attempting to restore crucifixes to the parish churches; when she forbid the clergy to marry; when Dr Nowell's sermon, in which he "handled" the subject of images "roughly," was interrupted by frequent cries from the Queen—"To your text! Mr Dean, to your text." When De Silva, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Philip that on Easter Sunday Elizabeth, "in stiff black velvet," publicly washed the feet of a poor woman, and afterwards "piously kissed" a crucifix, when Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Armagh, lamented to Cecil "the malice of the crafty devil and subtle Satan, who was turmoiling and turning things topsy-turvy, bringing in a mingled religion, neither wholly with, nor wholly against God's Word;" the more dangerous as it was accounted good and comely; but in the Primate's judgment, "it was unwise to urge a necessity in things which God's Word did set at liberty."

But however these facts might encourage Mary to look for approval of her marriage, they rather leaned the other way, and from north to south of Scotland, the Protestants cried out "they were undone." "Posts and packets flying daily in the air," spread the news that the two Queens, being united to over-

throw the truth, had lost "the hearts of the godly." As sign and token of what might be expected, the return of Darnley was pronounced a scheme by which "to match the Queen of Scots meanly and poorly," and to dye her more deeply in Popery "by marrying her to a Papist." Elizabeth got her full share of blame; whatever efforts Mary made to favour the Catholics were laid at her door.

While the Protestants were calling out that the priests at Holyrood should be hanged, Mary being on a visit to Fife, her host, "a grave ancient man with a white beard, and a white head," knelt at her feet, surrounded by his seven sons; the house, he said, was hers, and all that was in it, and he and his boys would serve her truly till death, but he prayed that while she remained no mass should be said there, for it was "worse than the devil."

Mary moved on to Stirling, and there news reached her of riots in Edinburgh, of the ill usage of a priest, who had to stand, fastened to the market-cross, while "ten thousand eggs" were thrown at him. After which he was lodged in the Tolbooth, chained, with two of his flock by his side. In great wrath she ordered the Provost to release the prisoner, "Not without great offence of the people," wrote an anonymous friend to Randolph, signing himself—"You know who."

Driven mad with anger, without the power to manifest it, the Queen of Scots determined to throw herself upon the Catholics at home and abroad, and



marry Darnley come what would. He being an English subject, Elizabeth's consent must be asked. So, on the 15th of April, Maitland left Edinburgh for London to announce the marriage. Scarcely had he gone when letters from Randolph followed to tell him that the marriage was openly declared. No matter now whether it received Elizabeth's consent or not. "The good time," the Catholics said, "was at hand, the King of Spain and the Queen of Scots would give them back their own again." Thus they prophesied.

Philip and the Duke of Alva warmly approved the marriage—a bad omen for Knox and his party—and Mary, enchanted, informed Alva, through her messenger, that she would do all the King of Spain desired.

There was plenty of gossip about the court. Lady Lennox said she believed the marriage had actually taken place. For which speech Elizabeth sent her to the Tower; and again pressed Leicester upon the Scottish Queen.

On Thursday, the 3d of May, the marriage was discussed "with long deliberation and argument" in the English Council. The result was a declaration that it would be "prejudicial to the amity between the two Queens, and pernicious to the welfare of the realm." But Cecil and his friends thinking it unreasonable to force upon Mary such a creature as Lord Robert, or "restrict her choice unnecessarily," advised her being offered "a free election of any other of the nobility" in England or elsewhere. They also

counselled Elizabeth to meet her cordially upon the recognition question.

Murray saw the precipice upon which his sister stood, and tried to save her,—resisting every attempt to induce him to consent to her marriage. In an evil hour, when she thought him off his guard, she placed a paper in his hand, telling him to sign it “as he must show himself her faithful subject,” he refused; “having no liking thereof.” “She was,” he said, “over hasty,”—what would the Queen of England say, with whom her ambassador was at that moment in treaty? Mary first entreated, then threatened. To her “many sore words” he calmly replied and remained firm. She dismissed him with bitter upbraidings for his ingratitude, and never forgave him.

“The Earl of Murray,” says Randolph, was “true, faithful, honourable, earnest, stout, both for the defence of God’s glory and to save his Sovereign’s honour; and he was fearful that his doings might make a breach of amity between the two realms.” In his sister’s defence he had quarrelled with friends—himself an earnest Protestant—he had shielded her from persecution while advocating her claims on the English succession. For five years his conduct towards her and his country had been guided by principle. He now saw her bent on her own ruin. Influenced by her secretary, the wretched Rizzio, and other selfish foreigners, she was about to plunge her country into revolution. “As to her marriage,” he

said, he “could not consent to her union with one, of whom there was so little hope that he would favour Christ’s religion.”

On the 15th of May, the Queen held a convention of her nobility at Stirling, to obtain their consent to the marriage before Maitland’s return from Elizabeth. At the same time she wrote a letter—which wanted “neither eloquence, despite, anger, love, nor passion”—to Maitland, telling him to return to Elizabeth and declare that she no longer cared for fair speeches, and would act as she chose in the matter of marriage. On the same day Darnley was created Earl of Ross at Stirling, highly indignant that a dukedom was not given him instead. Being an English subject, this act was treason against Elizabeth, and Throgmorton hastened to prevent it; he was late, the oath had just been taken as he was admitted into the Queen’s presence. With “eyes flashing pride and defiance,” she received him. The last time they met, he had vainly tried to induce her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh when leaving France.

Elizabeth ordered Lennox and his son to return to England; they refused, Darnley replying, that he acknowledged no duty or obedience save to the Queen of Scots, whom he served and honoured. “You have much forgotten your duty, sir,” answered Randolph—and, “without reverence or farewell,” withdrew.

On Sunday the 29th of July 1565, Mary Stuart and Lord Darnley were married in the royal chapel just after sunrise. The ceremony was performed

according to the Romish ritual. The Queen wore a black velvet dress, "such as she wore the doleful day of the burial of her husband." "Whether it was an accident," says Mr Froude; "whether the doom of the House of Stuart haunted her at that hour, with its fatal foreshadowings; or whether, simply, for a great political purpose, she was doing an act which in itself she loathed, it is impossible to tell; but that black drapery struck the spectators with a cold uneasy awe."

## CHAPTER XV.

Argyle and Murray ask help from England—Randolph approves of their Plans—Mary summons Murray to Perth—He refuses to obey—To deceive the Protestants, the Queen attends their worship, but they trust her not—Negotiations between Elizabeth and the Scottish Lords—The Queen promises assistance—Elizabeth's anger at Mary's Marriage—Her promised help is demanded by the Lords—Mission of Tamworth to Mary—She refuses his demands—Darnley signs his Passport home—He is arrested and made prisoner—Mary takes the field, pursues Murray and his Party, who fly to Dumfries—Elizabeth is doubted by Murray—Help, or no help to Scotland discussed by Cecil—After much delay, not to go to war is decided on—Mary advised to pardon the Banished Lords—She refuses and rushes on destruction—Elizabeth proves false—Her betrayal of Murray—The Woman forgotten in the Queen.

WHILE the marriage of the Queen of Scots with Henry, Earl of Ross and Albany, was pending, Argyle and Murray, in a conversation with Randolph, declared that "the time was come to put to a remedy," when their Sovereign was "determined to overthrow the religion received," and as she was not able "to provide for her own estate," they were willing to do so for her, "intending nothing but what was for her real advantage." The most effective plan they could suggest was to ask £3000 from England, to keep "their followers together," the rest they would undertake for themselves, a part of the scheme being to seize Len-

nox and Darnley, and deliver them into Berwick, "if her majesty would receive them." Randolph replied that the English Government "could not, and would not, refuse their own in what sort soever they came," and promised the requisite aid.

Mary heard of these plottings, and commanded Murray to attend her at Perth; but he, getting a hint that if he did, Darnley and Rizzio would not let him return alive, retired to Lochleven, and published the reason for his disobedience. Mary circulated another story,—that Murray meant to make her prisoner, and carry off Darnley to England. From his own words to Randolph, no doubt the latter part was true, and Darnley's conspiracy not to be wondered at. Elizabeth's promise of assistance was a plain encouragement to the Lords to rebel, and civil war might be expected any moment.

Notwithstanding her many troubles, Mary was never more cool and collected than at this moment. To conciliate the Protestants appeared her best move. She still refused to admit Knox into her presence, but at an interview with the superintendents of Lothian, Glasgow, and Fife, she told them that, though doubtful as to the truth of their religion, she was ready to hear its doctrines discussed. She would even listen to their preachers, and especially "the superintendent of Angus, Sir John Erskine of Dun, for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness." She declared, in a circular sent throughout the country, that neither then nor

at any time had she a thought of interfering with her subjects' religion, her sole desire being, that they might worship God freely in the form which each most approved. Very fair words had they been sincere, but every one knew they were not, and had they been so, both parties would alike have objected. Liberty of conscience was a doctrine in advance of the day, one which the extreme Protestants, as well as the Romish party, would have rejected. Mary Stuart's attendance at a Protestant sermon failed to throw dust in the eyes of the congregation—her body might be there while her heart meditated their destruction.

On the 18th of July, Argyle, Murray, and their friends sent a messenger to Elizabeth with a declaration of their resolve to resist every effort to restore the Catholic ritual, or dissolve the alliance with England. From their "own Queen" they said they expected "nothing but evil," to Elizabeth they looked "as, under God, the protectress most special of the professors of religion." They cordially thanked her for her promised help, the realising of which they never once doubted.

Once more Randolph promised assistance to the Protestants; and the Earl of Bedford, whose good will Knox "never doubted," was sent to keep guard on the Border, believing that if the Lords needed him he was to march to their aid. Murray, under the same belief, gave him a little private information,—that "the force on which the Queen of Scots most



relied lay among the Maxwells, the Humes, and the Kers of the Border," and begged him "to stay off their power."

Again and again Elizabeth demanded the return of Lennox and his son to England, but was met by open refusal. Mary said she would make no merchandise of her conscience; Lennox declared he might not, and durst not go; and Darnley, crying like a child, said he was very well where he was, and go he would not. Mary knew Elizabeth's promises, but she had learned by experience that she was irresolute and changeable; she therefore, with all the energy of her character, made preparations to crush the rebellion before the English help arrived. She accordingly liberated Lord George Gordon, now Earl of Huntly, who had been in prison since the insurrection of 1562, and made him and Bothwell her principal advisers. Meanwhile, she filled Edinburgh with the friends of Darnley—the foes of Murray—and having done what she could at home, sent a message through De Silva to Philip, to inform him that her subjects, encouraged by the Queen of England, were in insurrection against her to force upon her a religion she hated; and that she was determined to put an end to one subject of grievance, and marry Lord Darnley at once—a threat she put into execution, as we know, on the 29th of July 1565.

The ceremony over, Darnley left his bride to hear mass, surrounded by those nobles who adhered to the Romish faith. Leaving the church he said, "Her

Majesty neither will nor may leave the religion wherein she has been nourished and brought up." The Queen of Scots heard no more Protestant sermons.

Elizabeth's anger, when the news of the marriage reached her, was fierce; the Scottish Protestants felt certain it would provoke her to send the promised assistance—still no help came. Bedford remained on the Border. Randolph wrote to Leicester on the 31st of July, saying, "Though your intent be never so good to us, yet we fear your delay will be our ruin." He earnestly asked "speedy execution" of her Majesty's promises, which, he said, would "tend mightily to her honour." The suspense was grievous, just the trifling of 1559 over again. Mary having made up her mind desired the faithful of her nobility to meet her at Edinburgh on the 9th of August.

Elizabeth had not expected such prompt measures. The rapidity of Mary's movements astounded her, and she despatched Tamworth, an officer of her household, to Edinburgh to assure the Queen of Scots that she had always desired to promote her interests, whatever her vain imagination might make her think. But, at the same time, she let her know that she was aware of her intentions to "extirpate out of Scotland the religion received there," to sacrifice her own Protestant subjects to gain the favour of the English Papists. These and many other bold words Tamworth repeated to Mary, and concluded by requiring her to restore Murray to the Council, and pledge herself to join no

foreign alliance prejudicial to England. As a favour Elizabeth entreated that, at least, the Scottish Protestants might be allowed the free exercise of their religion.

Mary's reply to Tamworth "gave him words that bit to the quick." The Queen of England, she said, made demands—she would make hers, and ask the release and restoration to favour of her mother-in-law, the Countess of Lennox." As to the subject of her marriage, she begged to know what right Elizabeth had to interfere in it, and, alluding to the succession, she said, "the place she filled, in relation to the Crown of England was no vain or imaginary one," and that if the Queen of England compelled her to enter into "practices" with foreign powers, she would not find them to her advantage. As to Murray, she had not the most remote idea of restoring him to favour, and requested that Elizabeth would not meddle with her subjects, even as she never did with her Majesty's.

Thus spoke Mary, in imagination seated firm and secure upon the throne of England. "Young and a woman," says Mr Froude, "her tongue was ready, and her passions strong." Once more, pressed by Tamworth to accept Elizabeth's friendship, she named her conditions:—To be declared by Act of Parliament "second person" in the succession, and after herself and her children, Lady Lennox and her children, "as the persons by the law of God and nature next inheritable to the English crown." The Queen

of England being bound not to do, or suffer to be done, anything prejudicial to the Scottish title; upon these conditions, and these alone, Mary promised to leave Elizabeth in peaceable possession of the kingdom during her own or her childrens' lifetime; and solemnly declared that, once on the English throne, she and her husband would make no change in the religion, laws, or liberties of England.

Darnley, as King of Scotland, signed Tamworth's passport, and he departed for London. He asked a guard to the Border, and was refused. The next thing heard of him was his being arrested and carried prisoner to Hume Castle.

Matters grew worse and worse. No aid coming from England, Argyle and Murray retired to the Western Highlands, still "at the Queen of England's devotion."

On the 25th of August, Mary appeared at the head of 5000 men, "with pistols in her hand, and pistols at her saddle bow;" her one desire being to take vengeance upon her brother. She would "rather lose her crown," she said, than let him escape. The Protestants expecting the townspeople to declare themselves, fell back upon Edinburgh, but the Calvinists stirred not. Six days after the Queen's departure from Holyrood, Chatelherault, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, Kirkaldy, and a few more gentlemen, rode into the West Port, and sent a message to Berwick for help. They then prepared for defence. "In the town they could find no help from any one."

The people even prayed them to depart; and, with the Queen in pursuit close behind, Randolph, in despair, wrote to remind Cecil of "what was promised." Oh! that her Majesty's mind were known, he exclaimed, that the Earl of Bedford might be sent. The letter was scarcely despatched when Mary re-entered Edinburgh, sure of her prey, but the bird had flown to the Border.

Murray and his friends halted at Dumfries, and "thinking that nothing worse could happen than an agreement with the Queen of Scots while she had the upper hand, and they without a force in the field," he with difficulty kept his men together, looking for help which never came. Bedford had no orders to move. Could it be that the Queen of England had made up her mind to abandon those whom her promises had induced to rebel? The idea was stayed for the present—she sent Bedford £3000, to place in their hands if he pleased, as "if from himself, otherwise," she said, "your danger should be so great, as all the friends you have could not be able to save you from us." And yet Elizabeth knew how the case lay, that Murray and his friends were, as she confessed to the French ambassador, "suffering for her sake, and through her means." "The Queen of Scots," she said, "was threatening their lives;" but *she* "would aid them—*she* would have all men know her determination." Like the boy in the churchyard, "whistling aloud to keep his courage up," Elizabeth by boastful declarations of what she *would* do, thought

to cover her cowardly betrayal of those who had trusted her.

But it would not do. Murray began to doubt her—to lament her Majesty's "pretendings," while Bedford wrote that all would yet go well "if Elizabeth would openly declare herself." In fact, Mary's party as yet was weak. How could it be otherwise, with Rizzio for counsellor, and Athol, "a youth without judgment or experience, whose only merit was a frenzied Catholicism"—as general. True, the Bishop of Dunblane had "promised" to ask the Pope for 12,000 men, if the King of Spain gave his sanction and his aid too; to secure which Yaxlee, a dark conspirator, ready for anything, and avoided by "the wiser sort," was despatched into Spain by Mary. And Bothwell, dearer to her than ever, since he pledged himself to deliver up her brother, "dead or alive," was ever at her side.

Yaxlee's folly betrayed him; not knowing when to be silent, he disclosed his secret, and the whole matter fell into Cecil's hands, from which Elizabeth learned, that England being regarded as the hotbed of heresy, from which the poison was transplanted to the Continent, was, at any cost, to be restored to the Pope.

While she and her ministers were digesting this intelligence, Mary again took the field. Scouring Fife, as far as St Andrews, she took vengeance upon her former host, the old Laird of Lundy, who had deprecated the entrance of the mass into his house;

she sent him to prison, while his family fled for their lives. This was towards the close of September. In October she would march, she said, to the Border in quest of the fugitives, and, boasting that her next step would be to London, she paused to rest at Holyrood.

All this was known to Cecil, and, as was his way, he considered the matter in all its bearings somewhat like an account between debtor and creditor.

The Council assembled in London on the 24th of September, when a statement was laid on the table, detailing the proceedings of the Queen of Scots from the day of Elizabeth's accession—all her misdoings—all Elizabeth's efforts to conciliate her were given minutely, down to the latest moment, all but one important item—no allusion was made to that upon which the whole subject to be debated hinged, the promises of assistance if necessary, given by Elizabeth to Murray and his friends; which promises had encouraged the rebellion. The omission was observed, but passed over in silence, and Cecil stated his case.

And, first, he considered the reasons in favour of assistance being given to the Scottish Protestants. When summed up, they made one weighty reason:—Elizabeth's title to the throne of England depended on the Reformation; once admit the Pope's authority, and she would no longer be regarded as lawful Queen. It was, therefore, incumbent upon her, for her own interests, to help the Scotch Protestants, and thus



defeat the efforts of the Queen of Scots to overthrow the Reformed faith, and, having done so, seat herself upon the English throne.

On the other side, Cecil acknowledged that it was a dangerous matter to assist rebels, especially those so near as Scotland. Perhaps, following the Queen of England's example, the King of Spain might interfere with the English Catholics. Thus the scales were pretty equal; but if it could be proved that the Queen of Scots was in communication with the Pope, to further her designs upon England, that "great matter," like the sword of the old Gaul, thrown into the scale, would decide for war, and of that there was no doubt.

The Council, therefore, as a preliminary step, confiscated the estates of the Earl of Lennox, while they advised the Queen to demand the ratification of the Edinburgh treaty, and send a force of some thousand men to the Earl of Bedford to be at his disposal. War seemed inevitable, and had Elizabeth gone heart and soul with Knox and his doctrines, there would have been no drawing back; but her Protestantism was mainly political in its character; several members of the Council, too, detested Calvinism, and favoured the Queen of Scots' claims to the crown of England. When the Council broke up, Elizabeth spoke in highest terms of Murray to the French ambassador. "He was," she said, "the best friend his sister had, would she could believe it! Noble, pious, and good." De Foix said, "he hoped her majesty

would not break the peace." She replied by warning him, that if France assisted Mary she would regard it "as an act of hostility against herself."

When Cecil thought over the matter quietly by himself, he came to the conclusion that war was too great an evil to be lightly entered on. Perhaps his great mind had anticipated the remark of the "Iron Duke," that, "next to a battle lost, the greatest calamity is a battle won." The Catholic faction at home, he said, might mutiny, while to move an army "was three times more chargeable than it was wont to be." So the Council, summoned on the third day after its vote for war was passed, was informed by Cecil, "that he found a lack of disposition in the Queen's Majesty to allow of war, or of the charges thereof." Non-interference was therefore decided upon.

With so much in her favour, Cecil wrote to Mary, advising her to act prudently, while the French ambassador, who had before warned her to remember the siege of Leith and beware of pressing matters to extremity, now assured her that if she expected aid from France or Spain, she would find herself mistaken, and would bring herself "to a bad end." He did his best to keep her quiet, but Mary Stuart was in no mood for taking advice, and though she "wept wondrous sore" at his words, she calmed herself by thinking how strong she must be when the Queen of England *was afraid* to go to war with her, and with the prospect of soon receiving the head of either Murray or Chatelherault, she was comforted. She

had, even then, but an unquiet home at Holyrood ; Darnley wanted the command of the army to be given to his father ; Mary refused, and gave it to Bothwell, upon which Lennox, in disgust, left the court.

To return to the Earl of Murray. When he and his followers reached Dumfries, he sent Sir Robert Melville to London to tell Elizabeth of their forlorn condition, and ask the promised relief. The Queen said she was very sorry for the good Earl, but that she could not declare war against the Queen of Scots “ without just cause.” She, therefore, advised him to accept “ any tolerable conditions ” his Queen offered him. But if the cruelty of the Queen prevented this “ desirable end,” her Majesty would “ for the love she bore those noblemen, and of her princely honour and clemency towards the persecuted,” receive them into her protection, and save their persons and their lives from ruin. “ She would,” moreover, “ send a messenger to Scotland to intercede with the Queen in their behalf.” An army also was spoken of, but held at too respectful a distance to be much encouragement to the forsaken Lords.

“ Desperate of hope, and as men dismayed,” they bitterly repented of “ having trusted so much to England ”—the broken reed which pierced the hand that leaned upon it. But Melville’s return revived their spirits. All but Murray had been thinking of making terms with Mary at Elizabeth’s expense ; now they discarded the idea as unworthy,—as men, as nobles, as honourable Scots, they would resist to the end.

The Queen started for the Border, accompanied by Athol, Bothwell, and eighteen thousand men. "With a dag at her saddle-bow," she rode at their head, declaring that "all who held intercourse with England should be treated as enemies to the realm;" she thought and spoke under the guidance of Rizzio, "a varlet," said Randolph, "had the whole guiding of the Queen and country." Of friends in that crowd she had few, perhaps only young Athol, Bothwell, and Huntly; "the rest were as like to turn against her as stand by her."

Elizabeth remained neutral; had she allowed Bedford to march out of Berwick, Mary's friends might have been roused to rally round her; but under orders to remain in Carlisle, he could do nothing but receive Murray and his party and see them safe over the Border. Mary rode up just as he escaped, half inclined to follow him, and risk all for the joy of having her brother in her power; but she was to suffer, and make others suffer more before the end. Her course was not yet run, and she returned to Holyrood.

Bedford, ashamed of the part he had been forced to act, now remonstrated with Cecil, the Queen's adviser throughout. "The poor nobleman," he said, "knew not what to do, say, or imagine." The Earl of Murray "I find constant and honourable, though otherwise sore perplexed, poor gentleman—the more the pity. As her Majesty means peace, we must do the best to maintain it;" notwithstanding Bedford

tried to break it, by assuring Elizabeth that "the Queen of Scots useth all such despiteful and reproachful words as she can against the Queen's Majesty: besides her practices with foreign realms. Yet," said he, "as her Majesty winketh at the same, I must know what I am to do, whether to recognise commissions signed by the Lord Darnley as King of Scotland or not." As a last resource, Randolph wrote to Leicester, in much the same strain, and with as little effect. It was Elizabeth's policy to continue to "wink" at things she felt it inexpedient to meet face to face.

By this time Murray was on his way to London. A letter from Bedford, written on the 17th of October, informed Elizabeth that she might soon see him and the Abbot of Kilwinning at the court—very unwelcome news to the English Queen. "She had," she said, "over and over again promised to do nothing to break the peace with the Queen of Scots," and "the coming up of the Earl of Murray would give just cause of complaint to her Majesty; which kind of matters," added the false-hearted Elizabeth, "should not in this open sort be used." So Bedford's courier was sent back with an order, that if the Earl had not set out, he should "stay him by his authority," if he had started he must be "sent after and recalled."

Elizabeth thought by this message, known to all, to justify her conduct before the world. Murray was met at Ware, where he remained "to learn her Majesty's further pleasure," as he wrote to Cecil, and

there he received a secret message to come on. "On the night of his arrival in London, the Queen sent for him," so De Silva wrote to Philip, and arranged in a private interview the comedy she was about to enact.

The following day, the 22d of October, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, the Queen received the Earl of Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning. Falling on one knee before her Majesty, Murray began to speak in Scotch, Elizabeth interrupting him, begged him to speak in French, as she did not understand Scotch. He pleaded his inability, and the Queen said he might do as best suited him, she would use the French tongue.

Murray then earnestly implored her to intercede in his behalf with the Queen of Scots. "I am astonished," replied Elizabeth, "that you, an outlaw, dare, without warning, come before me; are you not branded as a rebel to your Sovereign? Have you not spurned her summons and taken arms against her authority?" She then went on to say, that "the Queen of Scots had been her good sister, and such she always hoped to find her;" and now "she wished it to be publicly understood that she had never, in any degree, encouraged her subjects to rebel; she would not," Elizabeth said, "have done such a thing to be Sovereign of the universe, lest God, who was a just God, should cause others to deal thus with her." Murray listened, and she went on: "There were," she said, "two kinds of faults—those which pro-

ceeded from malice, of which one of blackest dye was treason against the person of a Sovereign." She declared that if she thought the Earl had been guilty of that crime, she would deal with him as he deserved ; but then there were other faults which might be in part excused and passed over—those caused by imprudence, ignorance, or in self-defence—she was willing to believe that the Earl of Murray's fault was such a one as she might deal gently with ; she therefore " commanded him, on the faith of a gentleman, to declare the truth."

Murray, in reply, indignantly repelled the charge of treason, and lamented that he was encompassed with enemies which made it dangerous for him to obey the summons of the Queen, his sister. He admitted that there had been a conspiracy, in which he had joined to save his life ; but (being before well tutored by Elizabeth) he solemnly declared that the accusation, that he had plotted to seize the person of his Sovereign, and had been encouraged in his rebellion by the Queen of England, was utterly false. He again earnestly prayed Elizabeth to intercede for him to obtain the Queen of Scots' forgiveness.

Turning to the foreign ambassadors, Elizabeth told them " to mark his words"—then addressing Murray, as he and the abbot knelt before her,—“ It is well,” said she, “ that you have told the truth, for neither did I, nor any one in my name, ever encourage you in your rebellion against your Sovereign.” She then ordered them to leave her presence, and, turning



aside, assured the ambassadors, that what they had just heard was the truth, and nothing but the truth. And so ended this disgraceful scene.

Elizabeth was a great Queen ; but more than one blot stains her honour. Her base betrayal of the Earl of Murray is one of the darkest.

Driven from her presence, the Earl wrote her a private letter :—" Not knowing in what he had offended, having done his best to serve and gratify her majesty, her treatment of him," he said, " was hard to bear ; he hoped he might yet receive from her some more comfortable answer." These were his last words to her for whose interest he had laboured—in whose truth and honour his noble heart had trusted. Murray joined his friends at Newcastle ; and Elizabeth was glad to think so many miles separated her from one whose presence could not but " bring her sin to remembrance."

No effort was spared to publish the matter. Elizabeth herself told the whole story to De Silva, and he wrote it to Philip. Some one in Elizabeth's interests sent the details to the Queen of Scots, accompanied by a letter from Elizabeth. Proud of the completeness of her success—the depth of her duplicity—the Queen of England declared to Mary, " the keenest witted woman living," as M. Froude calls her—" that she wished she could have been present to have heard the terms in which she addressed her rebellious subject."

The news gave great joy to Mary, the King, and

their party. "All the contrary faction," wrote Randolph to Cecil, "are discouraged, and think themselves utterly undone." Cecil, lamenting his want of courage, which had induced him to advise the Queen to break her word to the Lords whom she had encouraged into insurrection—forgetful that the path of honour is the path of safety—wrote a "gentle and sorrowful letter" to Bedford. And the Earl, in reply, confessed his fear, that the Scotch Protestants, stung to the quick, would "become the worst enemies that England ever had." "The wisest, honestest, and goodliest, are discomfited and undone," mourned Bedford to Leicester. "There is now no help for them unless God take the matter in hand, but to commit themselves to their Prince's will and pleasure." "And what," he might well ask, "hath England gotten by helping them in this sort?—even as many mortal enemies of them as before it had dear friends." "Greater account might have been made of the Lords' good-will," wrote Randolph. "If there be living a more mortal enemy to the Queen, my mistress, than this woman is, I deserve never to be reputed but the vilest villain alive. . . . Abandoned by man, and turned over to God, the Lords must now do the best they can for themselves."

"Turned over to God,"—Randolph might write thus scoffingly,—the Lords might yet find that *there* lay their strength.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Argyle and Shan O'Neil—Mary loses her opportunity of winning the hearts of her people—Feudal forfeiture hangs over Murray; what is it?—Elizabeth recovers herself, and promises to befriend Murray—Knox and Murray friends again—Mary's hatred to Knox heightened by his Sermon upon Isa. xxvi. 13, 14—He is arrested and silenced, but not for long—He Publishes his Sermon—His Treatise upon Fasting—Dark Designs of the Council of Trent—Knox a Prophet—M. De Villemont, Ambassador to Mary from the Queen-Regent—Fearful News from France—She Signs the "League"—Murray Summoned before Parliament—His doom fixed—Romish hopes raised high—Rizzio Murdered—Darnley hated—His murder arranged—Mary attends him—Her care—Takes him to Kirk-o'-Field—His last evening—Reads the 55th Psalm—Found dead in the Garden—Mary's plans for the Restoration of Popery scattered to the winds.

THE Earl of Murray might forgive Elizabeth's treachery—his friends could not. Argyle, when he heard its details, desired Randolph to tell his mistress that if she did not "reconsider herself," he would make terms with his own sovereign; he would wait, he said, "ten days for her reply." The time having expired, and no answer come, Argyle gave the word, and Shan O'Neil, the wild Irishman, joined the Western Islanders to drive the English out of Ireland, and thus the Scottish Earl punished the Queen of England.

Had Mary seized the opportunity which Elizabeth's conduct offered her, and shown clemency to the banished Lords, thus "severed from England," she would have attached them to herself for ever. The Queen of England had done for her what she could not do for herself, and Sir James Melville implored her to be merciful, "to pardon Murray, Chatelherault, Kirkaldy, Glencairn—all of them," and she might "command their devotion for ever." Throgmorton wrote to the Queen herself, beseeching her to be prudent and cautious, to "pardon all offenders, and she would win many hearts in England"—"be generous," he said, "and you will command us all;—the Earl of Murray has no doubt offended you, pardon him, restore him to favour, and win, by doing so, all Protestant hearts."

Had Mary only known Elizabeth's danger, and her own power at that moment, she would have pardoned all, and all except the extreme Calvinists would have rallied round her; but Rizzio's influence, like a dark shadow crossing her path, prevented her seeing clearly. This "dangerous Italian," the "minion of the Pope," who had come to Scotland a wandering musician but two years before, not content with his past gains, and the promise of the Chancellorship, must have the estates of the Earl of Murray; once forfeited they were sure to be his: and so, the Queen of Scots, turning a deaf ear to her faithful advisers, summoned a Parliament for February; the forfeiture of Murray and his adherents being the chief business to be brought before it.

“Feudal forfeiture,” says Mr Tytler, “was in those days equivalent to absolute ruin ; it stripped the most potent baron at once of his whole estate and authority, throwing him either as an outcast upon the charity of some foreign country, or exposing him to be hunted down by those vassals whose allegiance followed the land, and not the lord.” With such a fate before him, Murray caught at every straw which might save him. He wrote to Cecil, wrote to Leicester, condescended even to petition Elizabeth. He had now been in London some time, and had not, Randolph says, “two crowns in the world.” So anxious had Elizabeth been to disown all connexion with him and his party, that in his distress she had passed him by on the other side. Now she began to recover herself ; in honour she must make an effort to save those whom she had helped to place in their perilous position.

She was long in making up her mind ; at length she said, if the Queen of Scots would name two Commissioners, she would name two, “that some good might be done for the Earl of Murray ;” but the ink was not dry when fear got the better of her, and she inserted these words—“*covertly, though not manifestly.*” She would befriend the Earl just so far, and no further, as was compatible with her own safety.

Mary’s popularity in England increased through the winter months, “The Queen’s faction increaseth greatly,” wrote Randolph to Leicester, “I commend you for that, for so shall you have religion overthrown,

your country torn in pieces, and never an honest man left alive that is good or godly.”

Knox and the Earl of Murray made friends together in the beginning of 1565. Whatever the Reformer's views may have been respecting the insurrection under Murray, in which his father-in-law, Lord Ochiltree, bore a part, we believe he had no share in it; though more than one historian has charged him with having engaged with Murray in the plot for seizing Darnley.

The Queen's enmity towards Knox continued unabated. On the 19th of August he preached at St Giles', the King, who attended sermon, or mass, as it suited him, being present. Knox chose for his text Isa. xxvi. 13, 14, and in the course of his sermon quoted Isa. iii. 4, “I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them:” adding these words, “*children* are their oppressors, and *women* rule over them.” Illustrating his subject by examples from Scripture, as was his habit, Knox observed that Ahab was punished by God for failing to correct his idolatrous wife Jezebel. The King made the application, believing that he and his wife were aimed at, and returning in wrath to Holyrood refused to eat.

That very afternoon Knox was arrested and carried before the Privy Council, accompanied by a few faithful friends. Being accused of having offended the King, he was ordered not to preach again while their Majesties remained in Edinburgh. Knox replied

that "he had spoken nothing but according to his text, and if the Church should command him to preach or abstain he would obey, so far as the Word of God would permit him." What he had said in the pulpit he again affirmed, and added, "that as the King for the Queen's pleasure had gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should He, in His justice, make her the instrument of his destruction." Mysterious words, to be afterwards remembered and "reckoned," Spottiswood says, "among his other prophetic sayings, which certainly were marvellous." The Queen, greatly offended, burst into tears.

When Knox returned from the Council, he wrote out his sermon as accurately as he could, and sent it to the press, that it might be seen "upon how small occasions great offence is now taken." In a postscript he wrote, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit; for the terrible roaring of guns and the noise of armour do so pierce my heart, that my soul thirsteth to depart." And on the margin, "the Castle of Edinburgh was shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus' sake." Then follows the date at which the manuscript was finished:—"The last day of August 1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly, so far as my memory would serve, of those things that in public I spake on Sunday, August 19th, for the which I was discharged to preach for a time. Be merciful to Thy flock, O Lord, and at Thy pleasure put an end to my misery.

"JOHN KNOX."



Knox being silenced, his assistant, Craig, was desired to supply his place, and the Town Council having met, resolved that, "in no manner of way they would consent that his mouth be closed," but that he should "at his pleasure, and as God should move his heart, proceed forward to true doctrine as before." They then sent a deputation to their Majesties, to ask the reversal of the sentence, and as the King and Queen left town before the next Sabbath, Knox was soon at liberty to preach as usual. When they returned to court the subject does not appear to have been reconsidered.

In December, the Commissioners of St Andrews petitioned that he might return as minister to that place in which he had commenced his ministry. The request was not granted, and Knox remained in Edinburgh, lifting up his voice like a trumpet, sparing no evil, public or private. About this time he visited the churches in the north of Scotland, and wrote "a comfortable letter" to those who, from the non-payment of their salaries, were in sore distress, and scarcely able to remain at their posts.

Soon after this, the General Assembly appointed a fast to be observed throughout the kingdom, in consideration of the disturbed state of the country. Knox drew up the form, which was published to serve as a guide to ministers and people.

The reasons assigned for fasting were—The critical state of all the Reformed Churches, the late decree of the Council of Trent for the extirpation of Protestantism,

the Popish league on the Continent by which to carry it out, and the barbarous persecution of Protestants in different countries. Solemn warnings, he said, to Scottish Protestants, and a call to repentance and prayer.

Having reviewed the state of religion on the Continent, Knox in this treatise quoted largely from the decrees of the Council of Trent to prove that such cruelties as "*have been*" may "*yet be again.*" "All Lutherans, Calvinists, and such as are of the new religion, the Council" declared "shall be utterly rooted out." The "beginning to be in France," helped on by the King of Spain, the whole power of the Pope, and the force of the Duke of Savoy and Ferrar. Geneva was to be assaulted, no living creature saved. "So many of France as have tasted of the new religion," to be "served with the same mercy;" and so on to "other realms and nations, never ceasing until that all be rooted out, that will not make homage to the Roman idol."

. . . . . "Think not," says Knox, "their will is changed, or their malice assuaged. No; let us be assured that they abide but opportunities to finish their work: the whisperings whereof are not secret, neither yet the tokens obscure." "But some shall say," he adds, "that they are yet far from their purpose, and therefore we need not to be so fearful nor so troubled. We answer, the danger may be nearer than we believe; yea, perchance a part of it hath been nearer to our necks than we have considered. But, howsoever it be, seeing that God of His mercy hath brought

forth to light this cruel and bloody counsel, in which we need not to doubt but still they continue, it becometh us not to be negligent nor slothful."

Were these among the Reformer's "marvellous prophetic sayings?" Time will tell.

Before the year closed, the most zealous and powerful of the Protestant Lords being exiled, Mary, step by step, was preparing for the restoration of the Romish religion in Scotland. The King avowed himself a convert to the faith of his wife: the Earls of Lennox, Athol, and Cassilis openly attended mass, and by the Queen's permission the monks and friars preached at Holyrood. Following the popular custom, they offered to dispute with the Protestant preachers, but Mary refused, saying "she would not thus jeopard her religion, for she knew well enough that the Protestants were more learned."

As the day drew near for the meeting of Parliament, Mary deliberated with her ministers concerning the forfeiture of the banished Lords. Spain had advised moderation, Melville's arguments were hard to get over, and the Queen almost seemed inclined to yield; but just at that moment, when a feather would turn the scale, a messenger from the Queen-Mother arrived at the palace. From him (M. de Villemont) Mary learned that, influenced by Pius V., who had just been elected Pope, Catherine de Medici had thrown herself, heart and soul, into the plans formed for the destruction of Protestantism in France; and further, he said that during the previous summer

the Queen-Mother and the Duke of Alva had carried the young King, Charles IX., through the south of France, and that while outwardly all was festivity, secret conferences were held, and a resolution passed, that toleration had seen its last days—that the utter extermination of the enemies of the Roman Catholic faith must now be accomplished.

But this was not all. Like the calamities which fell upon Job, each piece of De Villemont's intelligence, more fearful than the preceding, threw its predecessor into the shade, and at last a copy of the League or Bond entered into for the extirpation of Protestantism was handed to the Queen of Scotland for her signature. She signed it, and doing so signed her death-warrant—from that moment her downward course was rapid, until her wretched life ended on the scaffold.

The last ray of hope gone, Murray wrote sorrowfully to Cecil, that "for anything he could judge, he and his friends were wrecked for ever," and Mary, overjoyed at the prospect which the League opened before her for re-establishing Popery in Scotland, assured the Pope, that "with the help of God and his Holiness, she expected yet to leap over the wall."

The summons for Murray and his associates to appear before Parliament on the 12th of March was now issued, the Lords of the articles (whose business it was to prepare the measures to be laid before Parliament) were chosen by the Queen; Popish ecclesi-

astics were restored to their place in Parliament, and altars to be erected in St Giles' Church for the celebration of the Romish worship were being prepared.

From the day that Darnley became King of Scotland, his proud, arrogant, self-willed character made him an object of dislike, if not of hatred, to all parties. Still, as Mary Stuart's husband—one for whom she had suffered so much—incurred the displeasure of Elizabeth and of her own subjects—he had thought himself a happy man. But latterly “strange alterations” were spoken of:—“A while ago,” wrote Randolph, on Christmas day, “there was nothing but King and Queen; now, the Queen's husband is the common word: but” he added, “as poor men speak, it makes no matter if it grow no further.” But it did “grow further,” and the more indifferent Mary became to her husband, the more essential did David Rizzio appear to her existence. Upon their marriage, Mary promised Darnley the “crown-matrimonial,” an equal share with herself in the government; but she soon discovered that he was unfit for business, and withdrew her promise, while all the business of the State was managed by Rizzio, who received, as the Queen's secretary, a signet, a duplicate of the King's.

The haughty spirit of Darnley could not brook this dishonour, and he determined to destroy the usurper. The very same resolve, though from different motives, was formed by some of the Protestant nobles—Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland. While thinking over their scheme, the King told his thoughts to

Ruthven, who repeated them to his friends, and immediately the expediency of uniting with the King—making him (poor weak creature as he was) the scape-goat,—sign a paper, taking the whole responsibility upon himself—occurred to the Lords, by which their act, one of private revenge, would pass for obedience to the King, and be their shelter in case of trouble.

Darnley hesitated, and the conspirators laid before him the rich harvest he would reap by the act, “They would henceforth stand by him in everything he should undertake, be friends to his friends, foes to his foes;” he should have the “crown-matrimonial” for his life; and “failing the succession of their sovereign, they would maintain his right to the crown of Scotland after her death.” Religion should be maintained and established “as it was when her Majesty came from France;” these and other promises went to make up the prize, to obtain which Rizzio was to be murdered. The terms were good, Darnley accepted them, and signed the “bond.”

Ruthven was ill, but he could leave his bed for so great a matter as to bring back the banished Lords. Argyle thought anything well done that would save Murray from forfeiture, and Maitland could not but join his friends, and so the plan was formed; but before it was executed, a sketch of the plot was sent by Bedford and Randolph to Cecil. Very cautiously they wrote—no one was named—“*he*” was to be “executed;” “vengeance was to light upon *him*.”

"We need not more plainly describe the person," the letter concluded; "you have heard of the man whom we mean." Then followed the names of the conspirators. "In Scotland—Argyle, Morton, Ruthven, Boyd, and Liddington, (Maitland :) in England—Murray, Grange, Rothes, myself, (Bedford,) and the writer hereof, (Randolph.)"

It was on Thursday, the 7th of March, that the Queen selected the Lords of the articles, naming such as would say what she thought expedient to the forfeiture of the banished Lords. On Friday there was a meeting at the Tolbooth to prepare the Bill of Attainder. Notwithstanding all Mary's care, the Lords declared they "did not see just cause for so severe a measure." The next day, Saturday, the Queen appeared again at the Tolbooth, and "after great reasoning and opposition" she triumphed—"there was no other way but the Lords should be attainted." Forfeiture was decreed; nothing remained but to procure the sanction of the Estates. Success seemed certain; but before another sun rose, Rizzio was murdered.

On the 10th (Sunday) Murray and others of the banished Lords arrived at the palace, the Popish counsellors fled, and Parliament was prorogued, without having accomplished any one of the objects for which it had been assembled.

At midnight, on the 11th, Mary, with the King, whom she gained over to her side, fled to Dunbar, rallied her forces, and within a week returned to



Edinburgh. The conspirators fled at her approach, and took shelter with Bedford at Berwick. Knox went to Kyle. There is no evidence to prove that he was aware of the conspiracy to murder Rizzio, though he may have expressed his satisfaction at his death, as necessary to secure the safety of the country. His colleague, Craig, remained in Edinburgh.

Having "got quit" of her adversary, Mary took measures to prevent his return; she even wrote to a nobleman in the west, desiring him to refuse him shelter, hoping thus to force Knox to leave the country. It does not appear that he resumed his ministry in Edinburgh until the Queen was deprived of the government. Two of his sons were in England, so having procured the Queen's safe conduct, he, with permission of the General Assembly, went to visit them. When setting out, the Assembly intrusted him with a letter to the bishops and clergy of England, requesting that those of their brethren, who conscientiously refused to conform to the laws respecting clerical vestments, should be treated leniently. Knox, as might be expected, felt true sympathy upon that subject, and readily undertook the matter; but the relief was not granted. Elizabeth would neither listen to the advice of her bishops nor her counsellors, for which she fell considerably in the estimation of the Scotch Reformer.

Mary Stuart's plans for the restoration of Popery in Scotland were scattered to the winds by the murder of Rizzio; and at the same time her popularity increased

in England. Though the extreme Puritans wished the succession question to be decided in favour of Lady Catherine Grey, the majority of the English nation preferred the recognition of the Queen of Scots; her marriage with Darnley having removed the only objection in the way—her not being of English birth. The reversion of the English crown had been often promised to Mary upon certain conditions, and Elizabeth and her advisers lived in the hope that they would be acceded to. But they required that Mary should trample upon the religion in which she had been educated—a creed which suited her—and for this she was not prepared, full sure that without thus making enemies of the Catholic world, the English crown must be hers. This conviction never deserted her. On the 14th of February this year, Bedford, writing to Leicester, mentioned a little anecdote—a straw to show how the wind blew—“The Queen,” he said, “was the other day in a merchant’s house in Edinburgh, where was a picture of the Queen’s Majesty; when some had said their opinions, how like, or unlike, it was to the Queen’s Majesty of England; ‘No,’ said she, ‘it is not like, for I am Queen of England.’”

Elizabeth, ever changing, now took Mary’s part, and advised Murray “to be faithful to the Queen, his sovereign,” under pain of her own displeasure. At the same time, she wrote to Bedford, that for the present she would neither condemn nor acquit those under his protection, while she desired Melville to

promise Mary "that they should meet with nothing but rigour."

Such extraordinary friendliness might have awakened doubts in a less suspicious heart than Mary's; but the Scottish Queen took Elizabeth at her word and demanded the surrender of the banished Lords. Caught in a net of her own weaving, Elizabeth was perplexed. Murray and Argyle were one in heart with Morton and his friends, and she could not run the risk of their displeasure. Argyle again threatened her with Shan O'Neil; and Murray "wished himself banished for them, to have them as they were." What could she do? Fair speeches had had their day, and now went for nothing. She must act, and promptly too. Ruthven's doom was sealed; he died shortly after the murder of Rizzio. To Morton she wrote an order to leave the country, (a copy of which Mary was to see,) and with it a little private note, telling him that "England was wide, and that those who cared to conceal themselves could not always be found." Argyle, with Shan O'Neil glooming in the distance, she did her best to soothe, telling Randolph to "deal with him and his friends." Much as she loved money, she was ready, she said, to give a portion, bestowed secretly, to further her purpose—and yet "her thrifty nature coming up again," she said the money was not to be promised if the Earl could be managed by other means; it was to be the last resource.

Argyle knew his power, and proudly answered,

that "if the Queen of England would interpose in behalf of the banished Lords, and would undertake that in Scotland there should be no change of religion, he would become O'Neil's enemy, and hinder what he could the practices between the Queen, his sovereign, and the Papists of England. These," he said, "were his terms; he scorned the thought of being bought by money."

Meanwhile Mary's "practices" with the English Catholics never ceased. A spy at her Court revealed them to Cecil, and, almost breathless with fright, Elizabeth, in the middle of June, wrote to Mary to remonstrate. Her letter, fair and moderate, concluded thus: "Remember, my dear sister, that if you desire my affection, you must learn to deserve it."

On the 19th of June 1566, James Stuart, the heir to the united crowns of England and Scotland, was born in Edinburgh Castle. The news reached Elizabeth on the evening of the 22d, and found her dancing at Greenwich. She was bitterly disappointed at an event which "was worth more to Mary Stuart's ambition than all the legions of Spain, and all the money of the Vatican." The next morning, recovering herself, she told Sir James Melville that the "tidings had given her great joy, and cured her of a fifteen days' sickness."

England had long and earnestly desired the marriage of Elizabeth, even the Romish Archduke would have been acceptable. She had, recently, again refused him, and now the hopes of the nation centred

in the infant Prince of Scotland; and while Mary's friends increased, and disturbances in England were threatened, the English Queen was losing favour with all parties—the Papists hating her for being a Protestant, the Protestants for not being a Puritan. To recover her strength and spirits, she set out to travel, and visited Woodstock, her former prison, Oxford, and Cambridge.

The birth of their son did not mend matters between Darnley and the Queen. James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, the friend and counsellor of her mother, was Mary's friend and counsellor too, while she treated her husband with marked indifference. She knew he had signed the bond for Rizzio's murder, and now, for her own dark, infamous purposes, she resolved to hold him alone responsible for the act, to pardon all the rest, and, what was more difficult, she undertook to reconcile those Lords to each other who had been at variance; so Maitland, Murray, Argyle, and Bothwell, were brought together, and bygones were to be bygones.

This union forebode evil: Darnley trembled at his own dark deeds—the murder of Rizzio and his intention to murder Murray rose up in remembrance. But Murray was noble and generous, and when they met spoke "very modestly" to the King, who, afraid of his own shadow, withdrew from Court, where he was no longer welcome, and, "misliked of all," wandered about meditating revenge.

We must bring his miserable story to an end. In

December, Argyle, Huntly, Maitland, and Bothwell, with Sir James Balfour, a cousin of Bothwell's, signed a bond for his destruction. The thing had been hinted to Mary, and she said she "would do nothing to touch her honour and conscience; they had better leave it alone; meaning to do her good it might turn to her hurt and displeasure;" but the conspirators knew well that, so far as she was concerned, they had nothing to fear.

On the 15th, the young Prince was baptized by torchlight in Stirling Chapel; his father, though in the Castle at the time, was not present at the ceremony. Did he fear to show himself? was he invited? or given a hint to stay away?

On the 24th, the Queen pardoned Morton, the last of Rizzio's murderers; and that night, "without word spoken or leave taken," Darnley stole away from Stirling, and fled to his father. Many days he lay ill in bed,—some said he had been poisoned, others that he had caught small-pox,—and at length the Queen joined him at Glasgow, accompanied by Bothwell. With apparent tenderness she watched him, and the wretched husband said he could be always happy if she would stay with him. His servant, Crawford, was more quick-sighted, and "liked her not."

On the 30th of January, Mary removed her charge to Kirk-o'-field for change of air. The lodgings being prepared more for the convenience of the conspirators than that of the sick man—keys, doors, bars, and bolts were all attended to. As the evening of the

9th of February closed in, Mary Stuart sat by her husband's side more than usually watchful; low and gentle was her voice as she listened to the stealthy footsteps of the men below, carrying in large mysterious bags, whose contents they poured on the floor beneath. Ten o'clock came—she remembered her promise to be at a wedding feast given to her favourite waiting-maid, she could not break her word though Darnley begged her to stay. As she left him she murmured—"It was just this time last year that Rizzio was slain." As her steps died away on the stair, Darnley turned to his servant Nelson, "She was very kind," he said, "but why did she speak of Davie's slaughter?" "What will she do?" he said again; "it is very lonely." Taking up his prayer-book he opened at the 55th Psalm, in the service of the day, and read—

"Hear my prayer, O God; and hide not Thyself from my petition. Take heed unto me, and hear me; how I mourn in my prayer and am vexed. The enemy crieth, and the ungodly cometh on so fast; for they are minded to do me some mischief; so maliciously are they set against me. My heart is disquieted within me; and the fear of death is fallen upon me. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me. . . . For it is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour; for then I could have borne it. . . . But it was even thou, my companion, my guide, and mine own familiar friend."



He then went to bed and fell asleep, his page, Taylor, beside him.

Two hours after midnight a "crack" was heard in Edinburgh and all the country round. In the morning light Darnley and his page were found dead in the garden under a tree, with "no sign of fire on them." Nelson being questioned, said that, after he left his master, he went to bed, and "knew nothing until he found the house falling about him."

No one knew exactly how it happened—some told one story, some another. But this is certain, that, not two months before the murder, the Queen of England wrote to the Queen of Scots, proposing that they should mutually bind themselves by a contract, in which Mary should pledge herself to do nothing prejudicial to Elizabeth during her life time, or that of her children; while Elizabeth, on her part, would "engage never to do or suffer anything to be done to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots' title and interest, as her next cousin." And this also is true, that, by the murder of Darnley, Mary Stuart lost all her chances of the throne of England, and of restoring Popery in Scotland. "The spirits of the Catholics are broken," De Silva wrote to Philip; "should it turn out that she is guilty, her party in England is gone, and by her means there is no more chance of a restoration of religion."

And thus her own words came true—"Meaning to do her good, it might turn to her hurt."

## CHAPTER XVII.

Delay in tracking the Murderers—Lennox writes to Mary to prosecute those suspected—She still delays—Bothwell suspected—Favoured by the Queen—The Queen carried off to Dunbar—Returns to Edinburgh—The Banns of Marriage with Bothwell called in Church—Craig remonstrates—The Marriage takes place—Flight of Bothwell—Mary a Prisoner in Lochleven Castle—Knox joins the Confederates upon certain conditions—Elizabeth disapproves of Mary's Imprisonment—Murray's Message to Elizabeth—He, ignorant of Mary's guilt, Opposes the Confederates—Mary consents to appoint Murray, Regent—Coronation of James VI.—Murray returns from France—His Interview with Mary—He is proclaimed Regent.

Two days passed before any steps were taken to discover the murderers. On the third, £2000 reward were offered to any one who would throw light on the matter, and immediately a paper, nailed during the night on the door of the Tolbooth, denounced the Earl of Bothwell, his cousin, Sir James Balfour, and David Chambers, as guilty. This was on the 17th; a similar placard appeared on the 19th; and the following day, the Earl of Lennox wrote to entreat the Queen to have the suspected persons arrested. Mary replied that the placards contradicted each other, and she did not know which to believe. The Earl then wrote another letter repeating the names of those

charged with the murder, which, he said, were not doubted by any one ; and in earnest pleading, as a father for a son, implored the Queen to act without delay. To this letter Mary did not reply, and in her widow's dress—the only sign of mourning about her—she remained at Lord Seton's, and not alone. Bothwell, whose hands the world believed to be yet stained with her husband's blood, was freely admitted to her presence. So time went on.

On the 8th of March, Mary received a letter from Archbishop Beaton, her ambassador at Paris, imploring her to prosecute the murderers, and thus vindicate her own character, for that “the general opinion in Paris” was that she had consented to the act. The same day she got a similar letter from the Queen of England. Mary declared her readiness to follow its advice, and bring the Earl of Bothwell to a public trial. Still she delayed, while the people were clamorous for inquiry, and the preachers appealed to God to reveal and revenge.

As if bent upon her own destruction, Mary, instead of bringing Bothwell to trial, loaded him with favours. So completely was he master, that Murray asked permission to leave the kingdom, and went to France. Mary was seldom seen except when she attended a dirge for the soul of her husband, and then her look of wretchedness struck the by-standers ; but the people demanded a more satisfactory evidence of her concern for his cruel fate, and at last, when every arrangement had been made to secure his acquittal, the Earl was

brought to trial—riding, as if the herald of his approaching victory, on Darnley's favourite horse. His acquittal roused public indignation to the highest pitch. As the Queen passed through the streets, the salutation of the market-women was,—“ God preserve your Grace, if you are sackless (innocent) of the King's death.” To complete Bothwell's triumph, the Queen selected him to carry the crown and sceptre before her when she rode to Parliament after the trial.

Murray was not implicated in the King's murder, and was now in France ; there was, therefore, no one at court to say a word (if permitted) to stop the infatuated Queen in her desperate career. Argyle, Morton, Huntly, Maitland, conspirators themselves, found it expedient to appear firm adherents to their leader, Bothwell. On the 9th of April he announced, at a tavern, that he had gained the Queen's promise of marriage. Many noblemen were present, and all, except the Earl of Eglinton, who contrived to escape, signed a bond, declaring their conviction of the Earl of Bothwell's innocence, and recommending “ this noble and mighty lord ” as a suitable husband for their Queen.

Some of those who signed that infamous bond did so feeling powerless to resist, and thinking that by appearing to acquiesce in the marriage they would be the better able to secure the safety of the young Prince, the heir to the Scottish crown. Among these were Argyle, Morton, Athol, and Sir William Kirkaldy, (the Laird of Grange, as he was generally called.)

From these Cecil and Bedford heard all that passed, so that Elizabeth was fully informed of each step which Mary Stuart took towards her final ruin. These powerful Lords now formed a confederacy to protect the young Prince from Bothwell, who, having murdered the father, might take the son's life also.

It was well known that Bothwell's declaration that the Queen of Scots would marry him was not vain boasting on his part. Grange wrote to the Earl of Bedford that she had been heard to say, "She cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him; she would go with him to the world's end." "Whatever is dishonest," added Grange, "reigns presently in our court; God deliver them from their evil."

On the 21st of April, Mary went to Stirling to see her son. Fearing that some mischief was intended to him, his governor, the Earl of Mar, refused to allow any except the Queen, and two of her ladies in waiting, to enter the royal apartments. While Mary was with the Prince, Bothwell prepared to carry her off to his castle at Dunbar. "Judge you whether with her will or no?" wrote Bedford to Cecil. Having assembled "eight hundred spears," he met the Queen, accompanied by Maitland, Huntly, Sir James Melville, and some others, at Almond Bridge, six miles from Edinburgh. With a show of violence all were made prisoners; but when Melville complained of treachery, a confidential servant of Bothwell's told him he might

spare himself the trouble, for that the Queen's consent to her capture had been previously gained.

Mary remained some days at Dunbar, and then rode back to Edinburgh with Bothwell. "It was a sight which her friends beheld with the deepest sorrow, and her enemies with triumph and derision."

The confederate nobles now entered into a "bond" to accomplish three special objects:—To set their Queen at liberty from the Earl of Bothwell, to preserve the young Prince from danger, and to arrest and bring to justice the murderers of the late King. The Earl of Mar was continued in charge of the Prince; and if the Queen determined "to pursue him, the whole Lords promised, upon their faith and honour, to relieve him." So Grange wrote to Bedford.

On the 10th of May, the Queen of England, walking in her garden, "was pleased to tell me," wrote Randolph, "of the Queen of Scots' intended marriage, with great misliking of that Queen's doings, which now she doth so much detest, that she is ashamed of her." Nevertheless, Elizabeth did not approve of Mary's subjects "by any force" preventing that upon which she was "bent," and condemned the Laird of Grange for the part he had taken in publicly denouncing her conduct.

The Queen's banns of marriage were now ordered to be published in church. Knox was absent from Edinburgh, and Craig, who filled his place, excused himself, as the Queen had not sent him a written

order ; besides, the circumstances of the case, he said, were such that he could not countenance the marriage. Upon this the Queen sent him her command in writing, and Craig reluctantly complied, not feeling at liberty to disobey the express order of his Sovereign. He therefore proclaimed the banns in the High Church from the pulpit on three successive days, adding each time these words :—" I take heaven and earth to witness, that I abhor and detest this marriage, as odious and slanderous to the world ; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience, may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

On the 12th of May Mary entered the High Court in Edinburgh, and addressed the chancellor, judges, and nobility, whom she had summoned for the occasion. Alluding to the general report, that " their Sovereign was detained in captivity at Dunbar by Lord Bothwell," she admitted that " at first the seizure of her person had incensed her," but now she had " freely forgiven his offence, in consideration of his subsequent good conduct, and meant to promote him to still higher honour." Accordingly he was that day created Earl of Orkney and Shetland, " the Queen with her own hands placing the coronet on his head." Three days after that, the 15th of May, Mary, in widow's mourning, was married to the Earl of Bothwell, at four o'clock in the morning. The ceremony was performed at Holyrood by the Bishop of Orkney,



according to the Protestant ritual. Craig was present, but not one of the nobility. There was no rejoicing after the marriage, all faces gathered blackness.

Mary knew her conduct could not be justified, and sent apologies to France and England. Bothwell never received the title of King, but possessed legal power in the fullest sense of the term. The Queen was his prisoner. We pass rapidly over the events which followed this infamous marriage. The confederation of the nobility formed to revenge the murder of Darnley, and for the preservation of the young Prince, led to the flight of Bothwell on the 15th of June, just a month after his marriage, when the Queen said farewell to him for the last time, and he, turning his horse's head, rode off the field, "no one offering him the least impediment," so thankful was Scotland to get rid of him. When sure of his safety, Mary surrendered to the Laird of Grange, who, holding her horse's bridle, led her to the confederates. On reaching them the Lords fell on their knees: "Here, madam," said Morton, "is the true place where your Grace should be; and here we are ready to defend and obey you as loyally as ever nobility of this realm did your progenitors."

Riding between Morton and Athol, the Queen re-entered Edinburgh; after a few days she was removed to Holyrood, and the evening of the same day found her a prisoner in the castle of Lochleven, situated on a small island in the middle of the lake. On the 29th of June the Lords who had not joined the confederacy

met at Dumbarton, and issued a proclamation for all good and faithful subjects to be ready, at nine hours' notice, to take arms to liberate their Queen ; and the confederates—Lords of the Secret Council, as they were called—taking alarm, determined to ally themselves more closely with the Reformed party, which had far the most influence with the people.

To return to Knox. He appears to have resumed his charge at Edinburgh at the time that the Queen fled with Bothwell to Dunbar. On the 25th of June he attended the meeting of the General Assembly, which appointed him to go to the west, and endeavour to induce the Hamiltons and others, who had not joined the confederates, to do so, and attend a general convention of the clergy, to be held on the 29th of July. He was unsuccessful ; the Hamiltons kept aloof, but the meeting took place, and several measures were adopted in reference to the state of religion in Scotland.

Upon certain conditions Knox was willing to join the confederates. They must recognise, he stipulated, the Acts made by the Parliament of 1560, by which Popery had been overthrown, and the Reformation established ; to which Acts, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Queen of England and the Scotch Protestants, Mary had never given her consent. The confederates assented, they even went further, and agreed to restore to the Church the property which had been taken from it and appropriated to civil purposes, and to intrust the education of youth in

all the colleges to the Protestant clergy:—to put down idolatry, “if necessary, by force of arms:”—to commit the education of the Prince to “some godly and grave Governor;” and to punish to the uttermost the murderers of the late King.

The refusal of the Hamiltons to join the “Lords of the Secret Council” hastened their determination to compel the Queen to abdicate in favour of the Prince, her son. On the 1st of July, and again on the 8th, Melville had an interview with Maryat Lochleven, and urged her to give up Bothwell; she obstinately refused, and thus excited fierce indignation in the Lords and the mass of the people. Knox spoke for them, and, as Throgmorton expressed it to Cecil, “thundered out cannon hot against her;” and so universal was the belief that the Queen was an accomplice in her husband’s murder, that it was reported she would be brought to a public trial.

Elizabeth had encouraged the confederates, but, as was her way, secretly. She had sent Throgmorton to Scotland to express her “grief and indignation that decided steps had not been taken for the punishment of the King’s murderers.” He was “to point out to Mary” the mortal reproach she had incurred by her marriage, and to assure her that at first Elizabeth had resolved to “give up all further communication with one who seemed, by her acts, so reckless of her honour.” Throgmorton was, however, to express the Queen’s displeasure at the rebellious conduct of the Scottish nobles, “which had softened her feelings”

towards one she so much blamed. Whatever had been Mary's conduct, "it did not," Elizabeth said, "belong to subjects to assume the sword, or to punish the faults of the Prince." Finally, she said she would compel the nobles to set Mary at liberty ; and, at the same time, do all in her power to prosecute the murderers of the King, and secure the preservation of the young Prince.

Past experience had made the Lords cautious how far they trusted Elizabeth. Their belief was "that if they ran her fortune, she would leave them in the briars," and desert them after they had committed themselves. To set their sovereign free they said "would be to seal their own ruin." Did the Queen of England desire that? Besides, once Mary were at liberty, to prosecute the murderers would be impossible.

It appears that up to this time Murray had not fraternised with the confederates ; early in July he sent a secret messenger to Elizabeth, who, after an hour's conversation, left her more favourably disposed towards Mary, and more wrathful against the confederates. During this interview a gentleman of the Court, named Heneage, was in the ante-chamber. Upon the departure of Murray's envoy the Queen called him in, and desired him to go to Cecil and inform him that the Earl of Murray, then at the French Court, had sent his servant with letters to the Queen of Scots, offering his services, and expressing his attachment to her person. "Tell Cecil," the

Queen added, "to write a letter in my name to my sister, to which I will set my hand, for I cannot write it myself, as I have not used her well and faithfully in these broken matters that be past." The purport of the letter from Cecil was to assure Mary that the Earl never spoke "defamedly of her for the death of Darnley," never plotted "for the secret conveying of the Prince to England," never "confederated with the Lords to depose her." "On the contrary," said Elizabeth, "now in my sister's misery, let her learn from me the truth, and that is, that she has not a more faithful and honourable servant in Scotland." This was true. As yet Murray was ignorant of Mary's guilt.

On the 13th of July, while the Reformed Church was keeping a fast in Edinburgh, Throgmorton arrived. Morton refused to enter upon business with him at so solemn a time; however, in the evening, Maitland saw the ambassador, and plainly told him he might not see the Queen; they had already, he said, refused admission to the French ambassador, and, in the present state of things, did not wish to irritate France by favouring the Queen of England. About the same time Murray's messenger arrived, and was likewise denied admission to the Queen's presence. It did seem that her fate was doomed. Throgmorton became every day more convinced that all interference in her behalf was but waste of time, and "rather tended to her peril." "It is a public speech amongst the people," he said, "that their Queen hath no more

liberty nor privilege to break the sixth or the seventh commandment nor any other private person, neither by God's laws nor by the laws of the realm." The same principle was advocated by Knox, Craig, and the other Reformed ministers, also by Knox's old friend, Buchanan—all upholding the doctrine that "God is no respecter of persons," and strengthening their arguments by Old-Testament examples. The miserable Queen, shut up at Lochleven, heard that the few friends who had stood by her were reduced to silence, afraid to utter a word in her behalf; and, almost driven to madness, she longed to be safe with the old Duchess of Guise, or even within the shelter of a French nunnery.

For the third time, Robert Melville was now sent by the confederates to Lochleven, to try and induce Mary to renounce Bothwell. As usual he was unsuccessful. The Queen said she would not thus wrong herself and him; but that she was ready to give up the government either to the Earl of Murray alone, or to a council of the nobility. She pleaded that, as the mother of their Prince, if not as their Queen, she should be regarded with favour. When Melville was leaving her, Mary asked him to take a letter to Bothwell. He refused; and she threw it into the fire. Public indignation every day grew hotter. To bring the Queen to trial was judged indispensable, that she might be consigned to perpetual imprisonment as guilty of the King's murder. Some even called for her death.

While matters were in this state, the General Assembly of the Church met at Edinburgh. The Lords of the Secret Council and the Protestant clergy, now in alliance, the party was strong; and, animated by the spirit of Knox and Buchanan, its proceedings were firm and uncompromising. The Queen's guilt being discussed, it was argued that she ought to forfeit her life. Throgmorton interposed, and earnestly implored that mercy might, in her case, rejoice over judgment. After much debating, Mary's own proposal to resign the government into the hands of the Earl of Murray was adopted; and Lord Lindsay and Sir Robert Melville were sent to Lochleven to confer with her upon the subject.

The day upon which Mary was taken prisoner, when Bothwell fled from the field, she called Lindsay, one of the confederates, to her, and told him to give her his hand. He obeyed; and Mary, fixing her eye upon him, said, "By the hand which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this." Since then captivity had done its work. The proud spirit, not broken or subdued, was yet shaken; and when Lindsay laid before her the papers she was required to sign, with eyes filled with tears, and a trembling hand, Mary took the pen, and signed them, without even reading their contents. By that act she abdicated the throne of Scotland in favour of her son, and gave orders for his immediate coronation. In consequence of his being an infant, she appointed her "dear brother," the Earl of Murray, Regent of



Scotland; and during the Earl's absence, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn, were to act as regents for him, with power to continue in that office if he refused it.

On the 29th of July 1567, James VI. of Scotland was crowned in the High Church at Stirling. Nothing was omitted calculated to add to the pomp and splendour of the ceremonial. In the procession Athol bore the crown, Morton the sceptre, Glencairn the sword, while Mar followed, carrying the infant prince in his arms. The Queen's resignation being read, Lindsay swore it was voluntary. Knox preached the sermon. The Bishop of Orkney anointed the King, and placed the crown on his head. (Knox objected to this part of the ceremony, as being a Jewish rite, but the objection was overruled.) Morton then, laying his hand on the New Testament, took the oaths, on behalf of his Sovereign, that he should maintain the reformed religion, and extirpate heresy. The Lords then swore allegiance, each placing his hand upon the King's head; then followed the citizens. When all was over, James VI. was lifted from the throne, and carried back to his nursery in the castle. Bonfires blazed upon the hill-tops that night. There was great joy in Edinburgh.

From that day all public business was carried on in the name of James VI. Thus, in less than two months, the confederate Lords, without having ever had 3000 men at their disposal, seized, imprisoned,

and dethroned their Queen, and placed her son, an infant a year old, on the throne, and all without shedding one drop of blood.

Murray was now called from France to accept the regency. As he was starting he received positive proof of his sister's guilt, lately discovered by a letter from her to Bothwell, which had fallen into Morton's hands. With feelings totally changed towards Mary, Murray had an interview with the Queen of England, on his way to Scotland. He expressed himself favourably towards the confederate Lords, and affirmed that Mary's restoration to liberty, while she refused to renounce Bothwell, was impossible. On the other hand, Elizabeth declared her determination to restore the imprisoned Queen, and punish her rebellious subjects. Her severe and haughty manner Murray considered to be beyond what she was authorised to manifest, and he withdrew in marked displeasure. Bedford and Throgmorton prayed their mistress to leave Mary to her fate; but she refused to listen to them.

On the 12th of August, Murray reached Edinburgh, and heard, for the first time, the whole story of Mary's infatuated career. Before accepting the regency, he said he must see his sister, and learn whether his appointment had been, as some said, extorted from her, in which case his title to the office would be set aside. Accordingly, on the 15th, accompanied by Morton, Athol, and Lindsay, he went to Lochleven. Mary, weeping, complained of her wrongs. Murray, (unlike himself,) cold and distant, laid before her,

with unvarnished truthfulness, the history of her misgovernment, her breach of promises, her misguided marriage with Darnley, her sudden dislike to him, and imprudent attachment to his enemies; the murder of her husband, her speedy marriage with the man whom the world believed his murderer; and thus, he said, her subjects' hearts had been alienated from her; hence followed her capture, her imprisonment, her abdication of the throne,—all of which were justified by her own letters to Bothwell, discovered in the “casket;” and more than that, they might yet bring her to the scaffold. As he went on filling up the dark picture, Mary's head reeled under the weight of reproach unsparingly heaped upon her. She tried to apologise, explain, deny—she even attempted confession; but she was a bad hand at that. Murray left her weeping, telling her to seek refuge in the mercy of God. In the morning Mary again saw her brother. Seeing her subdued, he spoke more softly, and told her, that whatever others might do, he would sacrifice his life for hers; but that much depended upon herself. If she tried to escape, or intrigue with the French or English, there was no hope for her. Present liberty she must not expect. He stood alone, he said, in thus speaking to her, having, as yet, but one voice in the State. The unhappy Mary caught at his words as a door of hope; and, throwing her arms round her brother, prayed him to accept the regency. He refused, but at last consented. Leaving her, she kissed him, with many tears, and sent her

blessing to her son. So he left the castle, desiring her attendants to treat their royal mistress with gentleness. From Lochleven, Murray visited the Prince at Stirling; and on the 22d of August he was declared Regent in the Council Chamber in the Tolbooth, in presence of the nobility; after which he took an oath that, to the utmost of his power, he would serve God, according to His Holy Word, revealed in the Old and New Testaments; that he would maintain the true religion as it was then received within that realm; that he would govern the people according to the ancient and honourable laws of the kingdom; promote peace, repress all wrong, maintain justice and equity; and root out from the realm all heretics and enemies to the true Church of God. He was then proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, and throughout the kingdom. The following day the news reached the Earl of Bedford at Berwick, and the next Cecil and Elizabeth.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Interview between Murray, Maitland, and Throgmorton—Throgmorton makes another ineffectual effort to see Mary—Pursuit of Bothwell—The Barons return to their allegiance to the King—Meeting of Parliament—Knox Preaches—Maitland's Speech—The Acts of the Parliament of 1560 ratified—The Nobility Oppose Church Property being appropriated for the support of the Reformed Church—The Imprisonment of the Queen of Scots debated—Knox longs for rest, thinks of returning to Geneva—Four of Bothwell's adherents executed for their participation in the murder of Darnley—The Regent's difficulties—Quietness restored—Escape of Mary Stuart from Lochleven—Battle of Langside—Mary flies to England—Murray subdues the Rebels—Deliberations at York and Westminster—Revelations drawn from the "Silver Casket"—Murray's plan to get Mary into his hands—Knox's letter to Cecil—The Regent assassinated—His funeral—Knox preaches the Funeral Sermon—His grief brings on a stroke of apoplexy—Knox recovers his speech, and is again in the pulpit.

DURING the week which followed Murray's acceptance of the regency he and Maitland had an interview with Throgmorton, who, in "as earnest and vehement a form as he could," expressed Elizabeth's displeasure at their recent proceedings. Maitland replied that, so far from harbouring any disloyal feelings towards their mistress, they wished her to be "Queen of all the world;" but, he said, "she being in the state of a person in the delirium of fever, who refuses everything

that may do her good, and requires all that may do her harm, we must act as best we can for her and our country." Maitland then warned Throgmorton that the worst thing Elizabeth could do, for her own interests, would be to drive the Scottish Lords to extremities. They had been long enough branded as "rebels and unnatural traitors;" they could no longer endure it. "Think not," he said, "that we will lose our lives, forfeit our lands, and be challenged as rebels all over the world, when we have the means to justify ourselves. Sorry would we be to go to war with your mistress, but we will rather try our fortune than put our Queen at liberty in her present mood, resolved as she is to retain and defend Bothwell, to hazard the life of her son, to peril her realm, and overthrow her nobility." As to "your wars," he continued, "we know them well. You will burn our borders, and we shall burn yours. If you invade us we shall call upon France. We have an eye upon all your practices." In conclusion, Maitland said he did not understand the Queen of England's "strange language," when she desired them "to set their Sovereign at liberty," and would only reply that, being the subjects of another Prince, they knew not the Queen's Majesty as their Sovereign."

Maitland having finished, Throgmorton, turning to Murray, said "he hoped he did not approve of such sentiments; that he had not banded with the rebellious Lords, nor joined in their excesses." Murray's answer was short, but to the point. He had not, it was true,

he said, joined the confederates, but he approved of their proceedings, and was determined, as Regent, "to maintain their action, and reduce all men in the King's name, even should it cost him his life."

There was no use now for Elizabeth's ambassador to remain in Scotland, and he asked to be recalled. The Queen consented, but first she required him to make one effort more to see the captive Queen. It was in vain, Murray, once for all, declared it was "impossible;" "for himself," he said, "the regency was a burden he would gladly have avoided; but the deed was done; for calumny he cared little—a good conscience was his defence." To satisfy the Queen of England, he would say that his mistress had given "her own word and signature to the act." "As to her liberty," he said, "that depended upon circumstances; and as to what should be done with her after Bothwell's apprehension, it was idle to bargain for the bear's skin before they had him." On the 29th of August Throgmorton left Edinburgh for England, leaving Murray, as he expressed it, "going stoutly to work, resolved rather to imitate those who had led the people of Israel than any captain of that age."

Three armed ships were now sent in pursuit of Bothwell, who had fled to Orkney, and turned pirate. Preparations were also made against any attack from Elizabeth, and measures taken to compel the whole of Scotland to acknowledge the government of James VI. One after another the hostile barons sent in their allegiance. Sir James Balfour, Bothwell's accomplice



in Darnley's murder, delivered up the Castle of Edinburgh into Murray's hands. A few days after the Castle of Dunbar, held for Bothwell by one of his adherents, also surrendered to the Regent; and on the 15th of September Murray informed Cecil that "the whole realm was quiet."

Knox preached at the opening of Parliament on the 15th of December, and implored the members to "begin with religion, that a blessing might attend their deliberations." Then followed a speech from Maitland, summing up past events fresh in the memory of all. Among the many matters which called for thankfulness, he said, the first was the establishment of the Reformed religion; the second, the appointment of the Earl of Murray as Regent. "As to religion, the quietness you presently enjoy," said Maitland, "declares sufficiently the victory that God, by His Word, has obtained among you within the space of eight or nine years. How feeble the foundation in the eyes of man, how unlikely it was to rise so suddenly to so large and huge a greatness; with what calmness the work has progressed not one of you is ignorant. Iron has not been heard in the house of the Lord; that is to say, the whole has been builded, set up, and erected to this greatness without bloodshed. Note it, I pray you, as a singular testimony of God's favour, and a peculiar benefit, granted only to this realm of Scotland, not as the most worthy, but chosen out by His providence from among all nations for causes hid and unknown to us, and to foreshow His almighty power,

that the true religion has obtained a free course universally throughout the whole realm, and yet not a Scotsman's blood shed in the forthsetting of the whole quarrel. With what nation in the earth has God dealt so mercifully? Consider the progress of religion from time to time in other countries, Germany, Denmark, England, France, Flanders, or where you please. You shall find the lives of many thousands spent before they could purchase the tenth part of that liberty whereunto we have attained, as it were, sleeping upon down-beds."

When Maitland uttered these words, did he forget, asks Mr Tytler, "the rising of Murray against the Queen's marriage, the murder of Rizzio, the flight of Morton, the assassination of Darnley, the confederacy against Bothwell, and the imprisonment of the Queen,—all of them events more or less connected with the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland?" We think he may very well have remembered all those events, and yet have spoken as he did; for not one of them was essentially connected with religion, though God overruled all of them to further the Reformation. Maitland's observations, limited "within the space of eight or nine years," as he himself says, had special reference to this remarkable fact, that open persecution for the Gospel's sake was not resorted to during that period. As we have already seen, Walter Milne, in 1558, was the last who suffered martyrdom in Scotland during the sixteenth century.

But to return to the proceedings of Parliament.

The three Estates, without hesitation, sanctioned the Queen's abdication, the King's coronation, and the appointment of Murray as Regent. They next abolished the Pope's authority, and ratified the Acts passed in 1560 in favour of the Protestant religion. All laws contrary to the Word of God were declared null and void: "the Confession of Faith," which had been read and approved in a former Parliament, was now sanctioned and published. Nothing that could contribute to root out the remains of Popery, or encourage the growth of the Reformation, was neglected. The same niggardly spirit, however, which had prevailed in the Parliament of 1560, when regulating the incomes of the Protestant clergy, still ruled the Assembly. For seven years, notwithstanding their poverty, the clergy had faithfully fulfilled their trust; but the arrangements formed for their support had hitherto proved very ineffective, and now little was done to remedy them. The fact is, that the mass of the Protestant laymen were but little affected by the doctrines which they professed; their faith did not work by love. Some of the principal barons having seized Church property as it fell from the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy, were determined to keep it, and unwillingly consented to restore to the Protestant clergy a third of the benefices. Parliament next ordered that no persons should be admitted as teachers in schools, colleges, and universities, who had not passed a special examination, and been approved for the office. Lastly, so far as

concerned the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the Sacraments, no ecclesiastical powers were to be acknowledged except those of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

In defining the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction Knox was now consulted. About the same time the General Assembly commissioned him, along with some others, to confer with the Regent and Council on such ecclesiastical questions as might occur after the Assembly had dissolved. The subject of the Queen's imprisonment being warmly debated, those who had adopted the views of her conduct put forth from the pulpit, insisted that she ought to be brought to trial. Then came the objection that, being a monarch, she was accountable to God alone—not to an inferior tribunal. But extraordinary crimes, it was urged, required extraordinary remedies; and the conclusion arrived at was, that perpetual imprisonment should be the Queen's portion; while an Act of Parliament was passed exonerating all those who had risen in arms to revenge the murder of the King. Their conduct, from the day of the murder—the 10th of February—to the present time, was pronounced "lawful and loyal," and the Queen's imprisonment declared to be "in consequence of her own fault and demerit." Having signed and sealed this declaration, Parliament dissolved.

Knox was no longer a young man; toil and anxiety had told heavily upon his strength; and now that Papal superstition and tyranny were legally abolished,

and the Protestant religion established—the Queen safe in perpetual imprisonment, and Murray, the “good Regent,” guiding the vessel of the State—he congratulated himself that his release from the burden of public affairs was come. He even thought of leaving Edinburgh, and retiring to the Geneva congregation, to whom he had been pastor before the Scotch Reformation commenced. Writing to a friend just then, he says—“God comfort that dispersed little flock, among whom I lived with quietness of conscience and contentment of heart, and amongst whom I would be content to end my days, if so it might stand with God’s good pleasure. For seeing it hath pleased His Majesty, above all men’s expectations, to prosper the work, for the performing whereof I left that company, I would even as gladly return to them, if they stood in need of my labours, as ever I was glad to be delivered from the rage of mine enemies. I can give you no reason that I should so desire, other than that my heart so thirsteth.”

On the 1st of January 1568, a few days after the dissolution of Parliament, four of Bothwell’s adherents were convicted of being guilty of the King’s murder, and suffered death as traitors. Their dying confession brought names to light hitherto not suspected except by the few whose interest it was to keep them secret. Argyle, Lord Justice-General, the head of criminal jurisprudence in Scotland, was declared “a principal accomplice;” while Morton, Maitland,

Huntly, and Sir James Balfour, were all given in as "parties to the murder."

Murray's post was not an enviable one. His measures relative to religious matters were condemned by Athol, Caithness, and the Bishop of Murray; while the provision for the maintenance of the clergy, which the Regent had advocated, was unpopular with the majority of the Lords. The friends of the house of Hamilton hated him for being Regent, thinking that post should have been bestowed upon the head of their clan, the Duke of Chatelherault. Besides these grievances, the Popish party were, to a man, attached to Mary, and longed for her release from captivity. With all these varied interests striving for the mastery, Murray's government was in a precarious state. The very means which he found it necessary to employ to restore tranquillity and order, made enemies for him; and yet his great abilities, his noble, unselfish character, his moderation, his single eye to the public good, were enabling him gradually to overcome difficulties which would have crushed most men. But suddenly his attention was called elsewhere.

On the evening of the 2d of May, a man lay along the edge of Lochleven watching; there were watchers too in the village and on the neighbouring hill—the eyes of all fixed upon the castle. Soon three figures were seen passing through the outer gate, and making for the little boat which lay ready for them. And thus Mary Stuart, with her maid and page, escaped. As

the boat moved from the shore her white veil, with its broad red fringe—the signal of success—shone brightly in the evening sun, and Lord Seton, George Douglas, and other friends rode down to meet the boat. Horses were ready, and at full gallop, Mary, with her attendants, rode to the Ferry, crossed it, galloped to Niddry, wrote a despatch to France, rested a few hours, and then on to Hamilton. There numbers of her nobles crowded round her with promises of attachment and support. She was soon at the head of 6000 men, and having assembled her council, declared that the fear of death alone had forced her to abdicate and command the coronation of her son; to the truth of which statement Robert Melville swore. The council therefore declared all Murray's proceedings illegal, and drew up a "bond," which her nobles signed, for the defence of her crown and kingdom. Mary did not relish the idea of hazarding a battle, and sent a messenger to Murray with offers of forgiveness.

The Regent was transacting business at Glasgow, not eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton, when he heard of her escape. It was a critical moment. Some at once openly deserted him, others stole away in the night, others counselled retreat. "Retreat," exclaimed the Regent, "would be certain ruin; our only chance is to attack before the Queen's numbers have increased." He then published a proclamation, declaring his determination to support the King's government, and asking support. In ten days he had an army of 4000 men.



Which side would Elizabeth take? Mary asked her aid, and in return received her congratulations upon her escape, and a promise that if she would place the direction of her affairs in the hands of the Queen of England, and not call in foreign aid, Elizabeth would compel her subjects to acknowledge her their lawful Queen.

And now Mary's party, feeling themselves strong, longed to give battle to Murray, but she was still unwilling, and they marched from Hamilton to Dumfries. Murray and his army, on a moor near Glasgow, narrowly watched their movements. A severe conflict soon took place; the Queen's troops were driven back, and but for the generous exertions of Murray, who called out, "Save the fugitives," the slaughter would have been dreadful. The Regent lost only one man, the Queen three hundred. When her troops were totally dispersed, Mary, who had watched the battle from a hill half a mile distant, threw herself on her horse, and did not stop until she was safe in Dundronnan Abbey, sixty miles from the field of battle.

It was then that she resolved to throw herself upon the protection of Elizabeth, contrary to the advice of all her friends. Having rested, she proceeded to Carlisle, and thence to Workington, where she wrote to Elizabeth a sad story of her case—her subjects' rebellion, the defeat at Langside. "It is my earnest request," she added, "that your Majesty will send for me as soon as possible, for my condition is pitiable, not to say for

a Queen, but even for a simple gentlewoman. I have no other dress than that in which I escaped from the field ; my first day's ride was sixty miles across the country, and I have not since dared to travel, except by night."

Elizabeth saw the error Mary had made and profited by it. On the 19th of May she issued an order to the sheriffs to treat the Scottish Queen with respect, but keep a strict watch upon her. Mary expected immediate help, and, disappointed, sent Elizabeth a ring, the meaning of which she would understand. "Remember," she said, "I have kept my promise. I have sent you my heart in the ring, and now I have brought to you both my heart and body, to knit more firmly the tie that binds us together."

Having defeated the Queen, Murray went northward and subdued opposition for the time. He then returned to Edinburgh, and brought to trial those who had resisted his government, but no single instance of cruelty can be laid to his charge. With the power, he had not the will to take vengeance on the fallen.

But his forbearance did not partake of weakness, and he wrote to Elizabeth, stating his readiness to go to London to justify his conduct, willing "to enter himself prisoner in the Tower of London if he did not prove Mary guilty in the death of the King, her husband."

Elizabeth's position was one of great difficulty. Three different courses were proposed to her with regard

to the Queen of Scots ;—to reinstate her on the throne ; to allow her to retire to France ; or to detain her in England. It was manifestly Elizabeth's interest to support Murray and the Protestants, and after much debate, Cecil, as usual, weighing both sides of the question, it was determined to keep Mary prisoner, and that Elizabeth, while she refused to see her, should support the Regent, and induce him to bring forward proofs of his sister's guilt.

After long and weary deliberation, Murray named his commissioners, and the Queen of Scots hers. They met, first at York, afterwards at Westminster, where Murray produced his proofs, drawn from the celebrated casket of letters, which afterwards made so much noise. Mary pronounced them a forgery. Elizabeth's decision was strange ; on the one hand, she said she saw no reason to believe the Queen of Scots guilty, and on the other she considered no just charge had been proved against the Earl of Murray ; he might therefore resume his government. This was on the 12th of January 1569.

During that year many attempts were made by Mary's party to restore her to liberty, but without success ; and in December Murray made a proposal to Elizabeth, which he had long meditated,—that she should give Mary into his hands, to be kept safely in Scotland, under his solemn promise “ that she should live her natural life, without any sinister means taken to shorten it.” Nicholas Elphinstone was the bearer of this petition to Elizabeth, which stated that,

“as Mary was notoriously the ground and fountain from whom all the tumults, practices, and daily dangers did grow,” and as her remaining in England gave her every opportunity to continue them, there was no remedy for the evil but to bring her back to Scotland.

Morton, Mar, Glencairn, and others, signed this petition ; and at the same time Knox wrote a characteristic letter to Cecil.

“Benefits of God’s hands received,” he said, “crave that men be thankful, and danger known would be avoided. If ye strike not at the root, the branches that appear to be broken will bud again, and that more quickly than man can believe, with greater force than we would wish. Turn your eyes unto your God. Forget yourself and yours where consultation is to be had in matters of such weight as presently lie upon you. Albeit, I have been strangely handled, yet was I never enemy to the quietness of England. God grant you wisdom. In haste, at Edinburgh, the 2d of January.—Yours to command in God,

“JOHN KNOX,

“with his one foot in the grave.

“More days than one would not suffice to express what I think.”

The Bishop of Ross detected and frustrated Murray’s scheme. He protested to Elizabeth that if she agreed to his proposal, it would be equivalent to signing Mary’s death warrant. While the matter was still unsettled—messengers flying to and fro—the

Regent was assassinated in the town of Linlithgow by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Private revenge may have instigated the murder, but Murray's destruction had long been determined by the faction which adhered to Mary and the Romish religion. The murderer was one of the prisoners at Langside, whose life the Regent had spared, at the request of Knox, and was thus rewarded. As his friends stood round his bed, lamenting his lenity to his enemies, and especially to his murderer, Murray declared, "nothing would ever make him repent of an act of clemency." He then, with faltering voice, commended the young King to the care of the nobility who were present, and died a little before twelve o'clock on Saturday the 23d of January. His funeral was grand and solemn. He was buried on the 14th of February in St Anthony's Aisle in the High Church of St Giles in Edinburgh. The body had been brought to Holyrood a few days after the murder. In the public procession to the church it was accompanied by the magistrates and citizens of Edinburgh with deep and heartfelt lamentation. Then followed the gentlemen of the county, and after them the nobility. The Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, and Cassilis, with the Lords Glamis, Lindsay, and Ochiltree, carried the body, which was preceded by the Laird of Grange, bearing his banner, with the royal arms, and the Laird of Cleish his coat of armour. The servants of the household followed, "making great lamentation,"

as Randolph wrote to Cecil. The bier being placed before the pulpit, Knox preached the sermon from the text, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."

Death kills envy. Many who had not a good word to say of the Regent while he occupied the highest post in the kingdom, and by his great virtues and abilities threw others into the shade, sincerely lamented him when he was gone. His title, "the good Regent," well expressed his character. He knew how to maintain the authority of the laws without severity—to show mercy without weakness. Among the many qualities which endeared him to his friends, Buchanan mentions his tact and delicacy in conferring a favour, always doing it in the way least likely to hurt the feelings of those he laid under an obligation. His high sense of honour, his upright disposal of the trust he held as Regent, is testified by the fact that neither himself nor his family became the richer because of the post he occupied. He seems to have adopted Joshua's motto in the ordering of his house. Besides his private reading and prayer, he had a chapter of the Bible read each day at dinner and supper, when he asked his chaplain, or some other suitable person present, to explain it, for his own instruction and that of his family.

Murray's death was a terrible blow to Knox. He loved him as a friend, and had more confidence in his piety than in that of any other of the Scottish nobility. He regarded his death as the greatest

calamity Scotland could sustain. "O Lord," he exclaimed in his sermon, "in what misery and confusion found he this realm! To what rest and quietness now by his labours suddenly he brought the same, all estates, but especially the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, O Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage, that the devil and the wicked, to whom he is prince, could not abide it; and so, to punish our sins and our ingratitude, (who did not rightly esteem so precious a gift,) Thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, by the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers. He is at rest. O Lord, we are left in extreme misery."

But there were some who tried to blacken his character, and circulated the report that Murray intended to place the crown upon his own head. The calumny was traced to Thomas Maitland, brother of the secretary, who managed to slip into Knox's pulpit a bit of paper with these words: "Take up now the man whom you accounted another God, and consider the end to which his ambition brought him." Knox entered the pulpit, read the paper, and at the close of his sermon, after deploring the loss which the Church and the commonwealth had sustained, observed that there were persons who rejoiced in the murder. "Yes," he said, "one such even in this Church;" but he added, "that wicked man, whoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where there shall be none to lament him." It is said that Maitland went home and told his sister that



Knox was mad. But his words came true—Maitland died in Italy, “having no known friend to attend him.”

Knox was asked to write a memoir of the Regent Murray, but his health forbade the labour. Deep grief so preyed upon him that, in October, he had a stroke of apoplexy, which for some time affected his speech. His enemies triumphantly looked for his speedy death, but his speech returned, and in a few days he was again in the pulpit. He never, however, quite recovered from the attack.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Elizabeth's grief for the death of Murray—Hopes and fears run high—Rejoicings in Spain and France—Foreign aid promised to Mary—Elizabeth selects Lennox to succeed Murray—Randolph again English Ambassador to Scotland—Miserable condition of Scotland—Randolph's Portrait of Maitland—Sussex enters Scotland—Destructive progress—Elizabeth speaks of restoring Mary to liberty—No more—All the efforts of Mary's friends fail—Fierce struggle between the two factions—Second inroad of Sussex—Execution of the Bishop of St Andrews—Meeting of Parliament—The King presides—His observation—Murder of Lennox—The Earl of Mar succeeds him as Regent—The Siege of Edinburgh begun and abandoned—Mary's hopes brighten—A truce—A general peace looked for, but in vain—St Bartholomew—Its effect upon Elizabeth, and ultimately upon the Queen of Scots.

ELIZABETH bewailed the death of Murray as the greatest misfortune which could have happened to her. Its consequences threatened to destroy that "inestimable commodity"—an English party in Scotland—and Lord Hunsden, Governor of Berwick, wrote the day after the murder, to entreat the Queen to be vigilant, and watch "the great faction which remained, who were all French."

There was good reason for apprehension: Mary's adherents, full of hope, regarded her restoration as certain; the Hamiltons were in arms, strengthened by the talent and influence of Maitland; and Kirk-

aldy of Grange, after dissembling for a time, now openly joined to overturn the government he had been so zealous to erect. The morning after the Regent's death, two of the mightiest Border chiefs broke into England, and plundered and burnt all within their reach.

While such was the state of things at home, Spain and France rejoiced in Murray's death as the removal of the great hindrance to the restoration of Mary and the Romish religion. Cecil, fully alive to the importance of the crisis, was convinced that the only remedy for Elizabeth was to keep up an English party in Scotland, and "find her own peace in the dissensions and misery of her neighbour." A Regent and an ambassador, he said, must be at once appointed; and so the Earl of Lennox was named to succeed Murray, and Sir Thomas Randolph to be, once more, ambassador.

Shortly after the Regent's death, Lennox had asked Elizabeth to provide for the safety of the King, his grandson, by taking the "little innocent" into her hands; a suggestion which pleased her not a little, and gave her a good opinion of the Earl. Besides, there had been for ages a deadly feud between the houses of Hamilton and Lennox, which was perhaps the strongest recommendation to the Queen of England's favour which the Earl could produce; and so his elevation to the highest post in the kingdom was now determined.

When Randolph arrived in Edinburgh, he found

matters in a very unsettled state. He at once summoned a meeting of the Council, and assured them that his royal mistress would support them, provided they remained true to the principles of the late Regent; that they must watch, he said, that the young King was not carried to France; and maintain religion and preserve peace in the kingdom.

The condition of Scotland, torn between two factions—one devoted to Mary, the other deprecating her being “sent home”—was pitiable, though very satisfactory to Elizabeth and her ministers. The great leader of the English party in Scotland was Morton, who had been, as Cecil expressed it, “nusselled in war and shedding of blood;” one who cared nothing for friends, religion, country, so that he acquired power. Selfish considerations had moulded him a Protestant; he was therefore of use to Knox and his party, and was supported by them. His associates were Lennox, Mar, the King’s Governor, Glencairn, Buchan, with the Lords Glammiss, Lindsay, and others. On the other side, Mary’s best supporters were Kirkaldy of Grange, and Maitland the Secretary, who were said to be, the one the most fortunate soldier, and the other the best statesman in the country.

Sir James Melville, an eye witness of the miserable condition of Scotland at that time, says “the two furious factions being framed in this manner, the hatred and rage against each other grew daily greater.” A convention of the nobility had been

appointed for the 4th of March, but it was not held: Maitland said the fault was Randolph's; while he threw the blame back upon the Secretary, who was, he wrote to Cecil, "at Seaton to air himself, before the convention." "His wits," continued Randolph, "are sharp enough, and his will good enough, to do good, but fearful and doubtful to take matters in hand. I doubt nothing so much of him as I do of the length of his life. He hath only his heart whole, with an honest mind, somewhat more given to policy than to Mr Knox's preachings. His legs are clean gone—his body so weak that it sustaineth not itself; to endure a sneeze he cannot, for annoying the whole body."

The day that Randolph drew this satirical portrait, Edinburgh was fiercely excited by a black banner carried through the streets, on which was painted the "good Regent" lying dead on his bed, and beside him the late King, under the tree in the garden of Kirk-o'-field; and at his feet the little Prince kneeling, praying to God to avenge the murder. The eye affects the heart. That black banner widened the breach between the two factions.

The new Regent, Lennox, had not yet arrived, and meanwhile letters from France and Spain brought promises of help to Mary. So her friends marched to Edinburgh, and compelled Randolph to fly to Berwick. Regarding him as the fomentor of discord, no sooner was he gone than the Lords wrote to petition Elizabeth to restore their Queen, and thus end the

struggle. Her reply was a command to Sussex to march into Scotland with 7000 men. Once the order had gone forth, no remonstrance could turn Elizabeth from her purpose, and so, entering Teviotdale, Sussex destroyed fifty castles and 300 villages. Castle after castle was invested and taken in a second inroad, villages burnt to the ground, the labour of the husbandman destroyed; while, to complete her victory, Elizabeth sent Lennox, her intended Regent, with an army straight to the capital, to take vengeance upon the House of Hamilton for Murray's death. Lennox departed in high spirits, confident "that he should soon pull the feathers out of the wings of his opponents." Destruction, which knew not mercy, attended his course. Every castle, every estate belonging to the Duke of Chatelherault was utterly destroyed. Proud of his exploits, the Earl wrote to Cecil to pity his poverty, and send him money. At the same time Maitland wrote to Cecil, wondering how the Queen of England could have so treated the noblest house in Scotland, "thus renouncing their amity" for the friendship of a few, "utterly their inferiors." Similar remonstrances from the French ambassador and the Bishop of Ross made Elizabeth repent of her severity, and she wrote to desire Sussex on no account to besiege Dumbarton; at the same time she ordered Randolph to return to Edinburgh, and tell the two factions that, having "reasonably" chastised her rebels, she would open negotiations to restore Mary to her throne. The English army then recrossed the Border.

But nothing was further from the mind of both Elizabeth and Morton than the restoration of Mary, and negotiations and conferences were a mere waste of time. Though the Bishop of Ross and Maitland continued to implore the Queen on behalf of "the poor captive," every effort failed; the two factions could agree to nothing. Elizabeth, having gained all she wished for her herself, by keeping up a hostile spirit in Scotland, now, as before, showed little willingness to assist those she had encouraged to take arms. In a convention of the King's friends, on 16th of June, Lennox was appointed Lieutenant-Governor under the King, until the 12th of July. When that day came he was formally elected Regent.

Both sides now prepared for war; and while the Queen of England encouraged Morton and his party, she affected to condemn both factions for their ceaseless rancour, and spoke of further negotiations for Mary's restoration. And now, a civil war of desperate atrocity followed Mary's reply to the demand that she should deliver up Edinburgh and Dumbarton before being restored to liberty — "the English Queen," she said, "might do as she pleased, but never should it be said that she had brought into bondage that nation of which she was the natural Princess."

Sussex, with 4000 men, now entered Annandale, and thus, to Elizabeth, related his progress to Dumfries. "I entered Scotland," he said, "the 22d of



this present, and returned to Carlisle the 28th, in which time I threw down the castles of Annand and Hoddum, of Dumfries and Carleverock, of Tynehill and Cowhill, of Arthur Graeme and Richies George Graeme, ill neighbours to England, . . . and some other piles where the rebels have been maintained. . . . I have not left a stone to an ill neighbour for twenty miles round." A truce of two months followed, badly observed, for while negotiations for Mary's restoration were continued, friends and foes kept up the spirit of hostility between her and England, each party bent upon blackening the character of the other. We cannot enter into minute details. Early in 1571 Dumbarton Castle was taken by the Regent, and Hamilton, Bishop of St Andrews, one of the prisoners, was tried and executed for the murder of the King and of the late Regent, in both of which he was undoubtedly implicated.

Grange, shortly after, held a Parliament in Edinburgh, and the King's party another at Stirling. The King, five years old, in royal robes, being carried from the palace by his Governor, read a speech prepared for him. The Duke of Chatelherault, Grange, and others of the Queen's party were then denounced as traitors. Before the assembly dispersed the little King asked what room they were in, and being answered the Parliament House, he, looking up to the ceiling, said there was "a hole in that Parliament;" which remark was remembered five days after, when the Earl of Lennox was murdered in revenge for the

execution of the Bishop of St Andrews. Mar was immediately elected to succeed Lennox on the 4th of September 1571.

In most instances Mary's friends were successful. The siege of Edinburgh, begun by Lennox, was abandoned by Mar. The war, terrible from beginning to end, was long remembered for its intensity; and that period, taking its name from Morton, was spoken of as the days of the "Douglas wars."

Before summer, 1572, Mary's hopes grew brighter, and Elizabeth proposed an armistice for two months, preparatory to a general peace. The truce, signed on the 30th of July, was joyfully hailed by the people, but it did not lead to the "general peace." Mar, ruled by Morton, whose principle it was "never to sheath the sword till his enemies had unconditionally surrendered, and the cause of the Queen of Scots was ruined," though willing, was powerless to stem the torrent, and every attempt to enter on deliberations which might lead to peace was frustrated. Just at that moment the genuine results of Popish principles were brought out in fearful distinctness by the massacre of St Bartholomew, on the 24th of August. And while sorrow and indignation filled Elizabeth's heart, as one after another of its hideous details reached her, she, not unnaturally, trembled for herself and her kingdom, as she remembered the dark plots she had detected, and knew full well that of those conspiracies Mary Stuart was the centre. Her correspondence with Spain, with France—terrible

France !—with Rome, was no secret. The Duke of Alva was her friend. As long as the Scottish Queen remained in England, Elizabeth justly reasoned, the Romish party would never cease to hope and intrigue for her restoration ; and once that was gained, St Bartholomew might find its counterpart in England.

Such thoughts were inevitable. They led to the execution of the Queen of Scots—the darkest blot upon the page of Elizabeth's history. Into that subject we shall not enter, but return to Knox ; and having followed him through the stormy scenes detailed in this chapter, carry him to his grave, and close our book.

## CHAPTER XX.

Knox condemns the conduct of Kirkaldy—He preaches in explanation of his own conduct—Failure of his health—Leaves Edinburgh for St Andrews—Miserable condition of Edinburgh—James Melville's description of Knox—St Leonard's College—Knox longs to depart—The Queen's troops leave Edinburgh—Knox returns to the City—He preaches in the Church of the Tolbooth—James Lawson appointed his successor at St Giles's—Knox's Sermon upon hearing of the Massacre of St Bartholomew—His weakness increases—His exhortations to his friends and servants—His last message to Kirkaldy—His Death and Funeral—His Memorial.

THE defection of Kirkaldy was a deep sorrow to Knox. He loved him for his past services to the Reformation; and although he now held the Castle of Edinburgh against the King, Knox did not lose confidence in him as one to whom the cause of Christ was dear. And yet, about the end of 1570, Kirkaldy openly quarrelled with Knox; so that the report went abroad that he had become "his sworn enemy, and intended to kill him." Knox, it seems, had, from the pulpit, condemned the Governor for rescuing a murderer from prison. "If the act had been that of one who had no fear of God," Knox said, "he would not have been so much moved by it;" but he "was pained to think that one of whom all good men

had formed great expectations should have acted such a part." An exaggerated report of this rebuke having reached the Castle Kirkaldy complained to the kirk-session that Knox' had accused him of being "a murderer." Knox explained, repeating what he had said, but to no purpose.

The threatening language which Kirkaldy used so alarmed Knox's friends, that they wrote to warn him not "to touch that man whom God had made the first planter and chief waterer of His Church among them"—for they were determined to protect him, as "his life was as dear to them as their own."

The fear of man could not deter Knox from doing what he considered his duty, and he persisted in condemning those who hindered the punishment of crime by supporting the pretensions of the Queen; and, by opposing the King's authority, exposed the reformed religion to danger. Anonymous letters, charging him with "railing against the Queen," were in consequence thrown into the Assembly House, and placards posted on the church door, stating that he refused to pray for the Queen. Though advised to take no notice of these libels, he preferred to make them public, and, taking them into the pulpit, one by one replied to them. He denied having "railed against the Queen," but admitted that "Isaiah and Jeremiah had taught him to call wickedness by its own terms—a fig a fig, and a spade a spade." As to the charge of not praying for "the Queen, his Sovereign," he said, "Sovereign to me she is not, neither am I bound

to pray for her in this place. My accusers, indeed, term her their Sovereign, and themselves, the nobility and subjects, professing her obedience; but in this they confess themselves traitors, and so I am not bound to answer them." "I am further accused," he continued, "that I speak of their Sovereign (mine she is not) as that she were reprobate, affirming that she cannot repent: whereto I answer, that the accuser is a calumniator and liar; for he is never able to prove that at any time I have said that she could not repent; but I have said, and must say, that pride and repentance abide not in one heart of any long continuance." "What I have spoken against the murders, against the pride, and against the idolatry of that wicked woman, I spake not as one that entered into God's secret counsel; but being one (of God's great mercy) called to preach according to His blessed will revealed in His Holy Word, I have oftener than once pronounced the threatenings of His Word against such as have been of counsel, knowledge, assistance, or consent, that innocent blood be shed." These and similar words Knox spoke from the pulpit of St Giles.

Then, alluding to the threatenings against himself, he said his life was in the care of Him who had hitherto preserved it, and in Him he still placed his trust. Other charges being brought against him, he vindicated himself, and closed with these words: "One thing in the end I may not omit to deny, that ever I sought support against my native country.

What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know ; yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth. And thus I cease : requiring of all men that have to oppose anything against me, that they will do it so plainly, as I make myself and all my doings manifest to the world ; for to me it seems a thing most unreasonable, that, in my decrepit age, I shall be compelled to fight against shadows and owlets that dare not bear the light."

He was indeed "decrepit"—so weak now that he never left the house except on Sundays to preach. The kirk-session he no longer attended, nor other matters of public business. But his mind, still vigorous, and alive to every interest connected with the Church, often led him to undertake work for which he was unequal.

The Hamiltons hated him ; and when in April 1571, Kirkaldy received them into the Castle, the danger to Knox was so great that his friends proposed to form a guard for his defence whenever he went out. To this the Governor objected, as implying suspicion against himself ; but the Reformer's house was, nevertheless, guarded during the night by those willing to run any risk to secure his safety. Kirkaldy, knowing "there were many rascals and others who loved not Knox, and might do him harm without his knowledge," applied to the Duke for protection for him ; he gave it, but would not pledge his word for his safety. At this time a ball was fired in



at Knox's window one evening, but he was not sitting in his usual corner, and the ball missed its aim. Justly alarmed for his life, he was now entreated to leave Edinburgh for St Andrews until the Queen's party should leave the town. "Sore against his will," he consented.

On the 5th of April he reached St Andrews. Many of the most respectable inhabitants of Edinburgh left the city the same day. The church was for a time shut, the celebration of the Lord's Supper discontinued. During a whole week there was now "neither preaching nor prayer; neither was there any sound of bell heard in all the town, except the ringing of the cannon." The Queen's party openly showed their hatred to Knox and his party: a servant of John Craig was dragged to prison because, when asked who was his master, he in agitation, by mistake, replied, Mr Knox, and, when he corrected himself, was desired to "hold to his first master." The soldiers baptized one of the cannons placed on the steeple of St Giles by the name of "Knox," and fired it off until it burst, killing two of their party, and wounding others.

While at St Andrews, Knox preached a course of sermons from the 11th chapter of Daniel, applying them to his own times, and thus brought upon himself the charge of "censuring the conduct of private persons." During this period, the General Assembly of the Church met several times, and made regulations concerning Church property and Church discip-

line, many of which were very displeasing to Knox, who complained that the good laws passed by the Regent Murray were set aside by those who wanted to secure to themselves the revenues of the Church—an old grievance, of which we have heard before. Being unable to oppose those iniquitous measures in person, Knox wrote to the Assembly, which met at Stirling in August 1571, and warned them that a storm was gathering, and to be faithful and meet it with courage. “And now, brethren,” he said, “because the decay of natural strength threateneth my certain and sudden departing from the misery of this life, by love and conscience I exhort you, that ye take heed to yourselves, and to the flock over which God hath placed you pastors. Unfaithful and traitorous to the flock shall ye be before the Lord Jesus Christ, if, with your consent directly, ye suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the ministry of the Church, under whatever pretence it shall be. Remember the Judge before whom we must make our account, and resist that tyranny as ye would avoid hell-fire. This battle will be hard; but in the second point it will be harder; that is, that with the like uprightness and strength in God, ye withstand the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Church. If men will spoil, let them do it to their own peril and condemnation; but communicate ye not with their sins by consent or silence, but with public proclamation. God give you audience and strong courage in so just a cause, and me a happy end.”

English Episcopacy never found favour with Knox. In 1568 he wrote thus to a friend :—" I would most gladly pass through the course that God hath appointed to my labours, giving thanks to His holy name for that it hath pleased His mercy to make me not a lord bishop, but a preacher of His blessed Gospel." And now when Douglas was consecrated Archbishop of St Andrews, Knox, being desired by the Earl of Morton to perform the ceremony, refused :—it was uncharitably said from disappointment, upon which Knox replied, that he had " refused a greater bishopric than St Andrews, which he might have had from a greater man than Douglas had his."

Day by day his strength now grew weaker. Yet he continued to preach, even when unable to walk without assistance to the pulpit. James Melville, a student at the college, thus speaks of him :—" Of all the benefits I had that year (1571) was the coming of that most notable prophet and apostle of our nation, Mr John Knox, to St Andrews, who, by the faction of the Queen occupying the castle and town of Edinburgh, was compelled to remove therefrom, with a number of the best, and chose to come to St Andrews. I heard him teach there the prophecies of Daniel. . . . I had my pen and little book, and took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening of his text he was moderate for half an hour ; but when he entered to application, he made me so thrill and tremble that I could not hold a pen

to write. He was very weak. I saw him every day of his doctrine go slowly and wearily, with a furring about his neck, a staff in the one hand; and by good, godly Richard Ballanden, his servant, and another servant, lifted up to the pulpit, where he had to lean at his first entrance; but ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous that he was like to beat the pulpit in pieces and fly out of it."

St Leonard's College had received the Reformed doctrines at a very early period, and now Knox found great enjoyment in the society of its professor, who frequently visited him at his lodgings in the Abbey. When able, he walked in St Leonard's Yard, speaking, from time to time, to the students, whom he used frequently to bless and exhort to be diligent in their studies, and to acquaint themselves with God, and with the great work which He was carrying on in their country. Many of those students long remembered the venerable old man and his advice.

It was while Knox was at St Andrews that he published his vindication of the Reformed religion, in a letter to a Scotch Jesuit. It was his farewell to the world—a dying testimony to the truth which he had taught and defended. "Weary of the world, and thirsting to depart," he dedicated his work to "the faithful that God of His mercy shall appoint to fight after him," and asked their prayers, that "God in His mercy would put an end to his long and painful battle." "For now," he says, "being unable to fight,

as God sometimes gave strength, I thirst an end, before I be more troublesome to the faithful;" "and yet, Lord, let my desire be moderated by Thy Holy Spirit." In a prayer at the close he says, "To Thee, O Lord, I commit my spirit. For I thirst to be resolved from this body of sin, and am assured that I shall rise again in glory, however it be that the wicked for a time shall tread me and others, Thy servants, under their feet. Be merciful, O Lord, unto Thy Kirk within this realm: continue with it the light of Thy Gospel: augment the number of true preachers. . . . Now, O Lord, put an end to my misery." And, again, he adds, in an advertisement "to the faithful," dated St Andrews, July 12, 1572, "I heartily salute and take my good night of all the faithful of both realms, earnestly desiring the assistance of their prayers, that, without any notable slander to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I may end my battle; for *as the world is weary of me, so am I of it.*" Shortly after this he wrote a farewell letter to the General Assembly, and, at their request, examined and signed his name in approval of a sermon lately preached by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline. This was his last public service to the Assembly, and he signed himself "John Knox, with my *dead hand*, but *glad heart* praising God, that of His mercy he leaves such light to His Kirk in this desolation."

In the end of July the Queen's troops left Edinburgh, the citizens returned to their houses, and im-

mediately entreated Knox, as their minister, to come to them, "that once again his voice might be heard among them." Knox complied, upon condition that he should not be obliged to observe silence respecting the conduct of those who still held the Castle, "whose treasonable and tyrannical deeds," he said, "he would cry out against as long as he was able to speak." Being assured that he would have perfect liberty to speak as he pleased, he returned to Edinburgh by easy stages. On the 17th of August he left St Andrews, got to Leith on the 23d, and, after two or three days' rest, reached Edinburgh. The next Sabbath he was in the pulpit, but his voice was so weak that half the congregation were unable to hear him. Still it was a joy to see him there once more. Knox, aware that the church was now too large for him, requested to be allowed to preach in a smaller, so as to be heard, even by "a hundred persons."

While he was at St Andrews Craig left Edinburgh, and the Assembly nominated James Lawson, Sub-Principal of the University of Aberdeen, to succeed him. The appointment, however, had not actually taken place, and Knox, fearing that his flock might, when he was taken, be left "as sheep without a shepherd," requested that the business might be finished. He himself wrote to Lawson, urging him to make no delay, as he felt "nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that he looked not for long continuance in the battle;" had it not been so, he said, "he

should not have put him to the trouble which he now required"—"that is," he said, "once more to visit me, that we may confer together of heavenly things; for on earth there is no stability, except the Kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fighting under the cross, to which mighty protection I heartily commit you.—JOHN KNOX—Edinburgh the 7th of September 1572."

A postscript adds—"Haste, lest ye come too late."

His failing health was so apparent that Killigrew, writing to Cecil and Leicester, says:—"John Knox is now so feeble as scarce able to stand alone, or speak to be heard of any audience. Yet doth he every Sunday cause himself to be carried to a place, where a certain number do hear him, and preacheth with the same vehemency and zeal that ever he did."

A few days after Knox wrote the above letter to Lawson, the news of the massacre of St Bartholomew reached Edinburgh. Five hundred Protestants of rank, and about ten thousand of the people, killed in cold blood. For months previously Charles IX. had loaded the Protestants with favours and honours, "doing like the falconers," as he himself expressed it, "humouring the birds;" and having got them into his net, not one escaped of "that wicked race" marked for destruction. At eleven o'clock on that terrible night the assassins were at their posts, waiting for the fatal signal—the sound of the palace bell. Immediately, lighted torches in the windows gave the alarm to the Protestants, but it was too late. The death.



work began. A white handkerchief round the left arm and a white cross on the hat distinguished the assassins—two white stripes, crossed on the door, the houses of the Huguenots. The cry, “Death to the Huguenots,” being raised, Coligni was one of the first that fell. His son, Teligni, “the glory and comfort of his gray hair,” followed. At length, when the streets of Paris ran with blood, when the murderers were tired out, and scarcely one Protestant within their reach remained alive, the butchery ended.

Such was the intelligence which reached Knox; and from his pulpit the next Sunday he “thundered the vengeance of Heaven against that cruel murderer and false traitor, the King of France; and desired Le Croc, the French ambassador, to tell his master that sentence was pronounced against him in Scotland, that the Divine vengeance would never depart from him, nor from his house. The ambassador requested the Regent to silence the preacher who had so insulted his master, but Morton refused.

Lawson now arrived in Edinburgh, and Knox preached in the Tolbooth Church. The crucifixion of our Lord was his subject. On the 9th of November he preached from the same pulpit the sermon at the installation of Lawson; and after the sermon he went to St Giles’s, and performed the accustomed service for admitting a minister to his office, and prayed for the Lord’s blessing upon his colleague and successor. In conclusion, he declared that, accord-

ing to the grace given to him, he had walked among his people with a good conscience, preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ in all sincerity, not studying to please men, nor to gratify his own affections. He praised God that He had been pleased to give them a pastor in his room, when he was now unable to teach. He fervently prayed that any gifts which had been conferred upon himself might be augmented a thousandfold to his successor ; and finally, exhorted his people to adhere to the faith of the Gospel. He then, with a weak but cheerful voice, pronounced the blessing, and left the pulpit. Leaning on his staff, he crept down the street, followed by many, who seemed to feel that they had heard his voice for the last time, and watched him until he entered his house, "from which he never came out alive."

On Tuesday the 11th he was much distressed by cough, and hoped the "Lord would soon end his sorrows ;" nevertheless, he did not neglect any means provided for his recovery. His habit had been to read daily some chapters of the Gospel, and of the Old Testament, and some of the Psalms, but on Thursday he was too ill to read himself, and desired his wife and his secretary, Richard Bannatyne, to read to him each day, "with a distinct voice," the 17th chapter of St John, the 53d of Isaiah, and a chapter of Ephesians. This was done as long as he lived, and, besides, scarcely an hour passed in which some verses of the Bible were not read to him. Sometimes he chose the portions himself, sometimes not. Calvin's

sermons on Ephesians were great favourites with him. While reading to him one day he seemed to fall asleep, and being asked if he had heard, he answered, "I hear, I praise God, and understand far better"—words which he repeated for the last time some hours before he died.

Feeling so ill, he desired his wife to pay the servants their wages, saying, "They will never receive more from me in this world." He exhorted them all "to walk in the fear of God." On Friday he felt better, and, thinking it was Sunday, said he would go to church, and preach on the resurrection of Christ, upon which he had been meditating all night. He was so weak, however, that he could scarcely sit up, and required two men to support him back to bed. He was unable to get up on Sunday. On Monday, some of the elders and deacons of his session came to bid him farewell. "The day approaches," he said, "and is even at the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my great labours and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ; but now God is my witness, whom I have served in the spirit in the Gospel of His Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the Gospel; . . . and now, dearest brethren," he added, "do persevere in the eternal truth of the Gospel; wait diligently on the flock over which the Lord hath set you, and which He redeemed with the blood of His only-begotten Son."

The conduct of Kirkaldy lay heavy on his heart, and he sent him his dying message: "Go to the Castle, and tell him from me," he said to Lawson and Lindsay, "that John Knox remains the same man now, when about to die, that ever he knew him when able in body; and wills him to consider what he was, and the estate in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble." "That man's soul," he said, "is dear to me, and I would not have it perish if I can save it." The message was given, but Kirkaldy slighted it, and returned a very painful answer, which deeply grieved Knox, who said "he had been in earnest prayer for him, and still trusted that his soul would be saved, although his body should come to a miserable end." Kirkaldy died on the scaffold, desiring the minister in attendance to repeat to him those last words of Knox, saying "he hoped they would prove true."

A day or two after this, Knox sent for the Earl of Morton, the Regent, and exhorted him in the name of God to use his benefits aright, and better than in times past: first, to God's glory and the benefit of His Gospel; next, for the welfare of the King and his realm and true subjects. "If so ye shall do," he added, "God shall bless you and your house; but if ye do not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame." Morton repeated these words to the ministers who attended him before his execution, adding, "I have found it so, indeed."

On the 20th, Knox desired his coffin to be ordered—often repeating that day, “Come, Lord Jesus!—into Thy hands I commit my spirit.” And again: “Be merciful, Lord, to Thy Church, which Thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this realm: Grant us, Lord, perfect hatred of sin, *both by the evidences of Thy wrath and mercy.*” Then, to those standing by, he would say, “Oh, serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Nay, blessed shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only-begotten Son of God.” On Sunday the 23d he exclaimed, “I have been in heaven, and have possession; I have tasted of the heavenly joys where I presently am.” Though in much pain, he said he was “willing to lie there for years if God so pleased, and if He continued to shine upon his soul through Jesus Christ.” He slept little, and seemed ever to be engaged in prayer and meditation when not speaking to those about him. “Live in Christ, and then flesh need not fear death,” were some of his last words. Monday the 24th of November was his last day upon earth. Restless and uneasy, he got up at nine o’clock, dressed himself, and sat in his chair about half an hour. Then he went back to bed. During the day death drew very near; his wife and several friends stood round his bed; turning to them, he said, “The pain was not painful pain, but such as would, he trusted, put an end to the battle.” He then committed the care of his wife to his friends. Shortly after his sight and speech began to fail, he

desired his wife to read the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians. "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" he said; "oh what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me from that chapter!" A little after he said, "Now, for the last time I commend my soul, spirit, and body" (touching three of his fingers as he spoke) "into Thy hand, O Lord." He then said to his wife, "Go and read the chapter where I first cast anchor;" and she read the 17th chapter of St John's Gospel, and afterwards part of one of Calvin's sermons on Ephesians.

After this he appeared to slumber—often moaning as if in pain. Being asked why he sighed so deeply, he answered, "I have formerly, during my frail life, sustained many contests and many assaults of Satan; but now that roaring lion hath assailed me most furiously, and put forth all his strength to devour and make an end of me at once. Before, he tempted me to despair because of my sins; now, by persuading me that I have merited heaven by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But blessed be God, who has enabled me to beat down and quench this fiery dart by such passages as these: '*What hast thou that thou hast not received?*' '*By the grace of God I am what I am.*' '*Not I, but the grace of God in me.*' Being thus vanquished, he left me. Wherefore I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ, who gave me the victory; and I am persuaded that the tempter shall not again attack me; but within a short time I shall, without any great bodily pain or

anguish of mind, exchange this mortal and miserable life for a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ."

And so it was. As night came on, he lay quiet; at ten o'clock the evening prayer was read at his bedside. Being asked if he had heard it, he replied, "Would to God that you and all men had heard as I have heard. I praise God for those heavenly words." Kinyeancleugh, his friend, who had but seldom left him for many days, now stood by his side. About eleven o'clock he sighed deeply, and said, "Now it is come." Richard Bannatyne asked him to give a sign that he died in peace—(What need of a sign from John Knox? But he gave it.) Raising one of his hands, he sighed twice, and the next moment was with Him "whom not having seen he loved."

Knox was sixty-seven years of age when he died. On the 26th was the funeral, attended by all the nobility, the Regent, and a multitude of the people. He was buried in the churchyard of St Giles. Standing by the open grave, Morton, the Regent, exclaimed—"There lies He who never feared the face of man."

In 1846 the foundation-stone of a memorial to Knox was laid in Edinburgh. It is a church, built adjoining the house in which he lived and died. At the ceremony the 100th Psalm was sung, and God's blessing asked upon the house of prayer about to be erected.

But it has been justly said, that to John Knox



Scotland owes in a great measure, under God, her ministers and schools, her open Bible, her Christian Sabbaths, her free Gospel. May she not, then, say concerning him, "If you seek his monument, look around!"

THE END.



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